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e directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square in-ated three times for 75 cents — one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Jennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Socies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

The following gentlemen constitute the Pinancial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz :- PRANCES JACKSON, Ep-REND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDEYL

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

KEFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS.

Among the many unhappy effects which have re-

Among the many unhappy effects which have reselted from the enactment of the present Fugitive
Slave Law may be included the passage, by a majority of the Northern States, of very stringent Personal Liberty Laws. These laws appear upon their
face to have been designed to obstruct as far as possible the execution of the act for the recovery of fugicinculars passed by the Congress of 1850

tive slaves passed by the Congress of 1850.

While it is our sincere desire that no slave who escapes from his master may be re-taken by him, we at the same time regret that any State should do

at the same time regret that any State should do anything by its legislation to prevent the recovery sof such a slave by his master. So long as the clause of the Constitution respecting those 'who owe labor or service in one State, escaping into another,' remains in that instrument, and so long as the Fugitive Slave Law is a Statute of the land, we regard it as an unfortunate thing that any State should seem to size a direction to read a superstance.

to evince a disposition to render nugatory a provis-ion of the Constitution, or to nullify an act of Con-

gress. Whatever honor or disgrace may attach to nullification, we desire may be possessed by South

Carolina alone.

But we object to Personal Liberty Laws not merely for the objects they seem to be intended to accomplish, but also because we consider them to be of little value to the slave. Our own State law forbids

the servants of the State, either civil or military, to assist in the rendition of fugitive slaves, and forbids

assist in the reduction of lugicities area, and orbots the use of buildings belonging to the State for their detention and confinement. But does any one suppose that the act will prevent the recovery of slaves? May they not still be arrested and confined in buildings of the lugicity to the Lugid States? May

ings or vessels belonging to the United States? May they not be safely kept by the servants of the Gen-

they not be sately kept by the servants of the Ceneral Government, either civil, military or naval? Is it then desirable there should be on our Statute books an act which exposes Massachusetts to the charge of Nullification, when no practical good has resulted, or may be expected to result from its enact-

We know that it may be said that Personal Lib-erty Laws are needed for the protection of the rights of free colored persons. But we would ask, whose rights have these laws preserved? If the rights of any of our citizens are in danger, why seek to main-

tain them by an insufficient protection, since, as we

tain them by an insufficient protection, since, as we have shown, slaves may still be re-captured, and it does not appear that Personal Liberty Laws can prevent the kidnapping of free colored persons. If we mean to nullify the Fugitive Slave Law, let us do it boldly, and if we do not mean to do it, let us not do

federacy? - Taunton Republican.

OUR PERSONAL LIBERTY LAW.

We have already expressed our own opinion of our Personal Liberty Law. We consider the enactment of at least doubtful constitutionality, and of clear worthlessness in a practical point of view. We have thought that such legislation, in nearly all cases, has been rather the expression of a just indignation aroused by the outrageous provisions of the present Fugitive Slave Law, than the result of a conviction that any useful end was certain to be at-

conviction that any useful end was certain to be attained by it. And while we should greatly prefer that a modification of the Federal act should precede

the repeal of our own, yet considering—not the arowed secessionists at all—but the accordant wish of the sound Union men at the South; the honest

prejudices of the masses in that section, who are

the Legislature shortly to assemble.

Our readers will find in another column an address

Our readers will find in another column an address to the people of Massachusetts, urging reasons for a repeal of the Personal Liberty Law, which must command attention. Backed by the authority of such names as Ex-Chief Justice Shaw, Judge Par-

ker, Ex-Gov. Washburn, and other eminent men, whose sympathies are Kepublican, as well as of men of other parties, this appeal to the good faith of the people of Massachusetts, in a matter in which we are clearly in the wrong, cannot be lightly regarded.

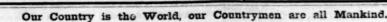
—Boston Journal

TO THE CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

duties and welfare, we ask you to hear us.

A large and important part of our common country is excited and alarmed. We deceive our-

VOL. XXX. NO. 52.



these leaders of an ignorant and fanalical multitude to sedition and treason put their followers forward, but they reserved their own persons for some other occasion than that which so imperiously demanded their presence. Men like these, who can only scold in presumed safety, are not martyrs of that stuff

on which the fortunes of a great country should be dependent.—Boston Courier, Dec. 4. We publish, this morning, an accurate and

Mr. Wendell Phillips and Mr. Garrison-

decorum which sometimes has almost the effect of tameness. It is true, our ancestors over the water styled it a "rebulinos city," but this was because the people had too much latent spirit to submit to intolerable oppressions; and when endurance became a vice, broke out from time to time, after remonstrance, into open and foreble resistance, became a vice, broke out from time to time, after remonstrance, into open and foreble resistance, and the state of the contracted in no other way. Thus, we have long suffered under the infliction of seditions meetings, addressed by a set of incendaries, who spared nothing and nobody—who have gone on actually cursing the Constitution which protects them, and gathering audiences pretending to represent the seminent of the community. The effect of this abroad has been most permitted to our fellow-citizens from us, and indicates of the contract of the community. The effect of this abroad has been most permitted to go our fellow-citizens from us, and indicates of the contract of the community to a most extraordinary degree. From an impediate the protein of the community to a most extraordinary degree. From an impediate the better portion of the community to a most extraordinary degree. From an impediate the protein of the community to a most extraordinary degree. From an impediate the protein of the community to a most extraordinary degree. From an impediate the protein of the community to the subject of the protein of the country. The parties who got it up were all presponsible—a large majority were now the protein of the country. The parties who got it up were all presponsible for the meeting, results and trials of the country. The parties who got it up were all presponsible for the meeting, results and proper part in the proceedings, and to determine the very nice upon such an exception of slaver, all possible contracts the meeting, which w

Imon sense and decency. That the result was not more disastrous to those irresponsible persons who were responsible for the meeting, resulted from their incapacity to defend themselves, and from the resolute good nature of the public who took possession of the property of the meeting, which was merely to discuss the question of that higher law, so often appealed to be very nice upon such an occasion, in discussing legal rights. This might be a clear case for the interiors, or any restraints proceeding from good manners and good taste. We have been a pretty diligrate reader of Mr. Phillips's speeches for many years, and we recall them as an unbroken series of polished invective and graceful vituperation. There are certain gentlemen whom he is constantly serving a proper part in the proceedings, and to determine the question in the way most agreeable to their own views.

The effect of the whole affair is, that a public meeting, called really, though covertly, to renew the lamentations of negroes, and white mene far the proceedings, and white mene far the proceedings, and the possion of appropriate sentiments in regard to that desperate ruffian and his this deeds. Another effect will follow. No such assembly, for that or any similar purpose, is very likely to be held in any conspicuous place in Boston agam. Nor do we believe that our people will listen hereafter, as they have hitherto done, to the fierce tirades of Phillips and his creek, to the empty platitudes of Sunmer, or the insolent bravedo of Wilson. Indeed, it was a marked feature of the summons, and the posts of some of them at least assigned—but when the day of battle came, as a signed—but when the day of battle came, as a signed—but when the day of battle came, as a signed—but when the day of battle came, as a signed—but when the day of battle came, as

The chief local event is the 'sermon' of Mr. Wendell Phillips. The Music Hall was crowded yesterday morning, and the police were obliged to protect the preacher from violence on his way home. It was a queer spectacle for Boston; but those persons who have encouraged this man in his abuse of respectable people must take the responsibility of events which may follow this free speech. The troops were ordered to be in readiness for any emergency yesterday.—Ibid. gency yesterday .- Ibid.

We publish, this morning, an accurate and elaborate report of the proceedings of the meeting, called to discuss the slavery question, and, under the rose, to eulogize the murderer, John Brown. It turned out that the bulk of the audience was composed of men who think that the hanging of John Brown himself was 'right.' The meeting was organized by the choice of an able body of officers, and free speech was vindicated, and the space of this city. Reports, unfounded in truth, had gone forth to the effect that the meeting at which wendell Phillips was to speak on 'Mobs and Educated and the evening, the Abolitionists assembled in the African church, a building in Smith Place. A crowd gathered in the street outside, but there was no interruption of the proceedings. At the close, wendell Phillips was escorted to his home by the police, and the other white leaders were invisible, though some of them were armed. John Brown, Jr., carried his pistols exposed to view. We have given no detailed report of the insane speeches in the church.—Boston Courier, Dec. 4.

the church.—Boston Courier, Dec. 4.

The Wendell Phillips and Mr. Garrison—notwithstanding the formidable organization of colored Wide-Awakes in this city—were not in attendance at the John Brown meeting yesterday morning. Who are the cowards?—Courier, Dec. 4.

We notice that there is much discussion in the abolition papers on the subject of free speech, and it is intimated that the rights of the negroes who congregated at the Temple last Monday, were infringed in this respect. To our mind, the ulmost latitude was given to the dusky ordarors. Indeed, we reported a speech of Fred. Douglass, which, had a white man made it in the Legislature, the Sergeant-lat-Arms would have removed him from the chamber. The truth is, the Abolitionists have all the freedom of speech on their side. After their expulsion from the Temple, they assembled in their rookery on Smith Court, and while the police protected them, they passed resolutions, censuring the Mayor of the city and the Chief of the very men who guarded them from an angry populace. Is not this freedom of speech?—Boston Courier.

The Ag good deal? has been said in certain quarters—for instance, in the New York Tomes—concerning the insignificance of the white and black traiters who assembled in the Trement Temple last Monday, to again, in the name of Massachusetts, cuiogize the murderer, John Brown. Our New York critic has devoted a good deal of time to Mr. William Mulligan; and why? Because he is a dangerous bruiser. Our nuisances are not bruisers; but they are of that class of covards who preach are caught in the act of murder, the counsellors fly to England, Canada and Hayti. We have in our length of the manner described.—Boston Post.

WHOLE NO. 1566.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-

stables of the institution. . . There is some excuse

for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN

PRANING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM TRE

MONT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

and must walk in it. To this point the public mind

and must east in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaying of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

J. B. YERMINTON & SON, Printers.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

SELECTIONS. DISTURBANCE AT MUSIC HALL.

It is very certain that it was not excess of re-ligious zeal, or regard for Christian truth, which led men to the Music Hall to interrupt Mr. Phil-lips, or to hoot after him on his return home; the piety of this city does not show itself in that manpiety of this city does not show itself in that manner. And however difficult it may be to account for the process by which Mr. Phillips and his hearers obtained their views, it must be evident enough, that had there been no interruption of the meeting at Tremont Temple a few days since, there wou'd have been no occasion for Mr. Phillips to have delivered a lecture on Sunday upon 'Mobs.' It takes a great while for some men to learn the simplest truths; the cause and effect, to them, are not very apparent, and frequently the one is missimplest truths; the cause and effect, to them, are not very apparent, and frequently the one is mis-taken for the other. In this instance, it ought to be very clear to the dullest minds. The first mob was proclaimed throughout the country as a triumph of the Union sentiment of

Boston over abolitionism; if so, what must be said of the failure in the attempt of yesterday? If this one had been successful, would it have been beneficial to the cause of the Union, and have effectually put down the abolition spirit, as it will be called? Would it not rather have increased that spirit, brought multitudes into sympathy with them, and made it more difficult to shut their mouths the next made it more difficult to shut their mouths the next time? Had the press and the leading men of this city been unanimous in their condemnation of the outrage at the Temple, there would have been no attempted repetition of it at the Music Hall. On the right view of this subject now will depend the renewal of these scenes, which, it continued, must inevitably result in bloodshed. We take pleasure, in this case, in commending the conduct of the police, and trust they may ever be as efficient in the performance of their duties.

the performance of their duties.

Should it be said that the language of Mr. Phil-Should it be said that the language of Mr. Phillips was calculated to produce irritation, and provoke disturbance, it is a sufficient answer to say that it does not become the objectors to make such a plea. They were under no obligation to listen to it; and if there was a justification, some of their friends would long ago have been mobbed on the the same pretext. The language of Caleb Cushing in Fancuil Hall, in stigmatizing Gov. Banks and other officers of the State government as 'drunken mutineers,' would have been sufficient justification on the same ground for the entire destruction of that sacred edifice.—Atlas and Bee.

THE LAST BOSTON MOB.

THE LAST BOSTON MOB.

The mob which assailed Wendell Phillips in Boston, last Sunday, does not get such notice from the Boston press as it deserves. The Alias and Bee has spoken of it very properly, and the Traveller has given it similar attention; but most of the other ournals recorded the leading particulars without comment. The Boston Transcript spoke of Mr. Phillips with great severity, but had not a word, either of censure or commendation, for the mob that sought his life. It seems to us that our Boston contemporaries have a duty to the laws, to the good name of Boston, and to the well-being of the community where they live, which some of them fail to discharge. It is our opinion that a Sunday mob in discharge. It is our opinion that a Sunday mob in Beston, such as that which intruded itself into Music Hall, and made such terocious efforts to seize and injure Mr. Paillips, should be denounced in terms which the dullest reader can understand. It is not our intention to criticise of question the

Transcript's estimate of that gentleman or his speeches; but it seems to us that something more than criticism was required when his right to speak was foully put in jeopardy in the city of Boston. He is not likely to escape criticism at any time. We believe he does not shun criticism, nor wince under it. He certainly should not, for he never spares others, who got in the way of any principle or policy he advocates. But when his life, or the life of any he advocates. But when his life, or the life of any other man, is assailed by a brutal mob in broadcloth, a subject is presented on which the press should have something to say. And every man who sees any worth in free principles, or who has the slightest respect for the institutions of Massachusetts, should deal by that mob as all satanic things should be dealt by, before he ventures even to inquire the subject of Mr. Phillips's discourse.

This matter is becoming serious. Free speech can not be suppressed in Biston, nor any where else in Massachusetts, and they are the worst enemies of law and order who encourage mobs to assail it, either directly by such inculcations as have appeared in the Courier, or indirectly by equivocal words, or still more equivocal silence. We who live outside of Boston are astonished that such things can be done

Courier, or indirectly by equivocal words, or still more equivocal silence. We who live outside of Boston are astonished that such things can be done or attempted there in this sixticth year of the nineteenth century. To us it is very plain that free speech cannot be suppressed there; but, if the press continues to neglect its duty, this matter may go on as it has begun, until it shall end in a fearful tragedy.—Worcester Spy.

A SUNDAY ROW ... PREE SPEECH SITS. TAINED.

Wendell Phillips spoke last Sunday in Music Hall, Beston, on mobs and education. He was engaged to deliver his address by the Committee of the Society of the late Theodore Parker. Fearing a riot, about one hundred of the police went to the Hall, and remained through the services. Mr. Phillips was as brilliant as usual, and justly severe. He gave Fay and his base followers who broke up the meeting at Termont Temple, the castigation they gave Fay and his base followers who broke up the meeting at Tremont Temple, the castigation they richly deserved. Mr. Phillips was frequently interrupted by hisses, derisive laughter, and the Bell-Everett cry of 'all up,' but when interrupted, the orator repeated the passage the more emphatically, and they were compelled to hear. Mr. Phillips left the hall accompanied by a body-guard of friends, but when he reached the lower entry, the crowd swayed to and fro, so that he was hustled about, but without doing him any injury. As he emerged from the to and fro, so that he was bustled about, but without doing him any injury. As he emerged from the building, he was greeted with insulting remarks, interspersed with the phrase 'all up.' The police now came, and took a position near the orator. One rough-looking rascal attempted to strike him. A mob of two thousand followed him to his home, hooting and yelling. Some wanted his life taken, declaring that he had lived long enough. A large crowd assembled before his residence, some making insulting remarks, while others gave the most enthusiastic cheers. Mr. Ham, Deputy Chief of Police, addressed the crowd, and they dispersed. One thing is certain, they can only put down Wendell Phillips by taking his life, for he is 'the noblest Roman of them all.'—The Vermonter.

THE PRO-SLAVERY ROW IN BOSTON.

We do not regard the breaking up of the anti-slavery meeting in Boston on Monday, as a matter of very serious importance, any way. It is altogether too late for a successful attack upon the right of free speech in this community, and this small-sized demonstration in that direction, achieved only the little and mean advantage that could be gained over a meeting unprepared for such interruption. The meeting it-

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1860.

by these considerations solemnly to declare, that we believe the State of Massachusetts has violated our great national compact, by laws now on her statute book, which are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Federal Government, like the government of each State, and over all persons within its limits. Each of these governments is sovereign and suprements within the sum of the sum o boldly, and if we do not mean to do it, let us not do anything which seems intended to nullify it, particularly where little or no practical good can result to any person from such action as does not nullify it.

This enactment not only irritates the South, but furnishes her one of those 'injuries' which she considers justify her in withdrawing from the Union. We have always thought, and long before the present troubles, took occasion to say, that the passage by the Legislatures of Northern States of laws designed to hinder the execution of statutes enacted by Congress for the benefit of the South, constitutes in our view the most plausible ground of complaint which the South brings against the North. There are in the South men of great ability and influence, who carnestly desire a dissolution of the Union. Is it wise in the friends of the Union to furnish these men with the means for weakening and perhaps dissolving the bonds which unite the States of this confederacy?—Taunton Republican.

States. If such power existed, every law of the been entrusted, and who are accountable to postunited States could be rendered inoperative by State legislation. For who would demand any right under a law of the United States, if the penalty of an innocent failure to prove his case, which may proceed from merely accidental causes, should subject him to a fine of five thousand dollars, and invested to the subject him to a fine of five thousand dollars, and invested to the subject him to a fine of five thousand dollars, and invested the subject him to a fine of five thousand dollars, and invested the subject him to a fine of five thousand dollars, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world the first transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world the first transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world the first transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those world the first transmission unimpaired to our children. pregulaces of the masses in that section, who are kept from the circulation of truths prevailing here; the requirements of the new era of triumph upon which the Republican party is now entering, calling for a wise conciliation and ready generosity; considering all these things, we say, we should be glad to see the Personal Liberty Act repealed promptly by the Legislature shortly to assemble. imprisonment in the State Prison for five years? Yet such is one of the laws now on our statute

book.

The volunteer militia are prohibited from acting, in any manner, in the rendition of a person adjudged to be a fugitive from service. The volunjudged to be a fugitive from service. The volunteer militia is the only arm on which the municipal magistrates of our cities and towns can rely, to quell organized and dangerous riots. Every one of its members is a member of the militia of the United States, and they are armed at the expense and under the authority of the United States, expressly conferred by the Constitution. Yet this law declares, that the arms of the United States, in the hands of citizens of the United States, who are a state of the states who are a state of the states. hands of citizens of the United States, who are a part of the militia of the United States, shall not be used by them to protect officers of the law of the United States from lawless violence in the streets of a city, whose peace the Commonwealth

s bound to preserve. Fellow-citizens, is it consistent with the duty we owe to our common country, to our State, and to ourselves, that such laws should be permitted longer

The undersigned are moved by an imperative sense of duty to address their fellow-citizens of the State of Massachusetts, concerning the portentous condition of our public affairs.

We are private citizens of different political parties, neither holding nor desiring any public employment, having no interest in the subject which is not common to all, and being impelled by no motive save the love of our country and our sense of responsibility to God, for the preservation and We know it is doubted by some whether the present is an opportune moment to abrogate them. It is said—We grant these laws are wrong, but weill you repeal them under a threat? We answer no. We would do nothing under a threat We would repeal them under our own love of right; under our own sense of the sacredness of compacts; under our own conviction of the inestimable importance of social order and domestic peace; under our feeling of responsibility to the memory of our fathers and the welfare of our children, and not under any threat. We would not be prevented from repealing them by any conduct of others, if such repeal were in accordance with our own sense of right. He who refuses to do a right thing merely because he is threatened with evil consequences, acts in subjecmotive save the love of our country and our sense of responsibility to God, for the preservation and transmission of the priceless blessings of civil liberty and public order which His providence has bestowed upon us. Many of us have heretofore held public employments; and we say, not in a spirit of boasting, but because the occasion calls on us to say it, that the people have seen we have not been unfaithful to their trusts.

For our honest and profound convictions, for the cause of truth and right, for the sake of your own ause of truth and right, for the sake of your own threatened with evil consequences, acts in subjection to the threat; he is controlled by it; his false country is excited and alarmed. We deceive ourselves if we suppose this excitement and alarm are not real, deep and general throughout fifteen States, which have been united to us by the closest ties which ever did, or in the nature of human affairs ever can connect different political communities.

The foundations of our Government are shaken, and, unless the work of destruction shall be stayed, we may soon see that great Union, our honor and safety abroad and at home, broken into weak, discordant and shattered fragments; and that people, who have dwelt under its protection in unexampled peace and prosperity, shedding fraternal blood in civil war.

At such a time, it is a great and solemn duty of the people of every State to consider well whether any part of the wrong which has produced this condition of affairs can justly be laid to its charge.

formed only by a just, candid and manly examination of our own conduct.

When we shall have done altogether right ourselves, we can firmly demand all that is due from others, and calmly abide whatever consequences may ensue from insisting on that demand.

Fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, we are forced by these considerations solemnly to declare, that we believe the State of Massachusetts has violated our great national compact, by laws now on her statute book, which are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Eederal Government like the government of the most perfect and prosperous government which

LEMUEL SHAW, Boston. BENJAMIN R. CURTIS, Boston. JOEL PARKER, Cambridge.
JOSEPH GRINNELL, New Bedford. ISAAC DAVIS, Worcester HENRY J. GARDNER, Boston. George Putnam, Roxbury. JAMES SAVAGE, BOSTON GEORGE PEABODY, Salem. HOMER BARTLETT, Lowell. GEORGE TICKNOR, Boston. JARED SPARKS, Cambridge. ALBERT FEARING, Boston GEORGE T. RICE, Worcester.
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WINSLOW WARREN, Plymouth.
JAMES M. BREBE, BOSTON.
LINUS CHILD, LOWEll. JOHN AIKEN, Andover. WILLIAM G. BATES, Westfield.
ISAAC L. HEBGE, Plymouth.
HENRY W. PAINE, Cambridge.
-WM. C. PLUNKETT, South Adams
DAVID AIKEN, Greenfield. CHARLES S. STORROW, Lawrence. SAMUEL L. CROCKER, Taunton.

SLLVES.

HORSES,

ward to its final and inevitable issue of physical force.

Besides the laws already referred to, there are other provisions which are manifestly designed to surround the performance of our constitutional duty of surrendering fugitives from service, with such obstacles as must prevent its performance, even though, by so doing, our own public peace should be left at the mercy of a lawless mob.

We know they have in times past had great provocations. And we firmly believe that if they have so far yielded to them, as to allow their resemblent to press too strongly on their judgment, it is not because they do not love the right, or because they do not love the right, or because they feel any indisposition to discharge honestly and generously every constitutional obligation. The entire history of our State, back to its earliest germ on the rock of Plymouth, forbids us to doubt the integrity, the magnanimity, the intelligence or the patriotism of our fellow-citizens. To these great qualities we earnestly appeal. We beseeh you to consider carefully this momentous subject; to act upon it justly, firmly, wisely, as becomes men to whose care so great privileges have been entrusted, and who are accountable to posture of the province of the province of the province of the united states. If such power existed, every law of the United States could be rendered inoperative by

HENRY W. CLAPP, Greenfield. NATHANIEL WOOD, Fitchburg. CHARLES THEO. RUSSELL, Cambridge.

and if any such should be found, every consideration of duty and interest demands that such wrong should be promptly repaired.

No specious fallacies, no blind resentments, no lowed to keep us in any wrong which can form even a small part of the causes which threaten a great people with ruin.

Our first duty is with ourselves. It can be performed only by a just, candid and manly examination of our own conduct.

When we shall have done altogether right ourselves, we can firmly demand all that is due from the masses of the people can nave no interest demands that such wrong they would have the discernment to do right, they would have the discernment to do right, they would have the discernment to perceive, and the mannliness to do it; and ment to perceive, and the mannliness to do it; and would be too calm, too wise, too magnanimous intentionally to persevere in any wrong; and we hope so still.

But what is meant by the exhortation not to repeal these laws under a threat? Who threatens us if they should not be repealed?

Who threatens us if they would have the discernment to perceive, and the mannliness to do it; and would be too calm, too wise, too magnanimous intentionally to persevere in any wrong; and we hope so still.

But what is meant by the exhortation not to repeal these laws under a threat? Who threatens us if they should not be repealed?

Who threatens us if they would have the discernment to perceive, and the mannliness to do it; and would be no better or-decedity than this of Boston. On all public occasions, its inhabitants behave themselves with a decorum which sometimes has almost the effect of tameness. It is true, our ancestors over the west of the persons expelled from the Tremont Temple last Monday, and whit bears his handwriting—which decorum which sometimes has almost the effect of tameness. It is true, our ancestors over the west of the causes which threaten a great people with ruin.

Who threatens us it is true, our ancestors over the west of the causes which threaten a great people with ru

the summons, and the posts of some of them at least assigned—but when the day of battle came, these leaders of an ignorant and fanatical multitude

self, if it had been allowed to go on quietly and peace ably in the discussion of the question which it pro-posed to treat, viz: 'How can American Slavery be abolished?' would not have exerted any considerable effect upon public opinion, because its attendants would have been few, and the expressions of its

would have been lew, and the speakers discordant.

Mr. Fay, at the head of a rabble of merchants' clerks and speculators in Southern securities—negroes included—chose to go in and disturb the public peace by breaking up the meeting, and exhibiting in some conspicuous way their very humble devotion to their Southern overseers. In thus voluntarily, their Southern overseers and combination, asand by previous arrangement and combination, as-suming the part of disturbers of the peace, 'for the sake of the Union,' they are to be regarded, of course, as any other rowdies would be, when so engaged.

Mr. Fay and his mob of clerks passed the follow-

4. That the people of this city have submitted too long in allowing irres onsible persons and political demagogues of every description to hold public meetince to disturb the public pence, and misrepresent us abroad; they have become a nuisance, which, in self-defence, we are determined shall henceforward be defence, we are d summarily abated.

By this they meant that anti-slavery folks had been allowed too long to hold public meetings in Boston, and that they, the money-changers and cringing clerks of State Street, would thenceforward prevent such meetings, by such disorderly interruptions as they were then argued in. How vain was this threat, and how in competent were Mr. Fay and his adherents to maintain their own resolution, even for one day, was shown by the holding of the same 'abated' anti-slavery meeting in Joy Street. same 'abated' anti-slavery meeting in Joy Street Church, that evening. Mr. Fay and his upholders did not then appear to carry out the pledge of hi resolution read in the morning, but wisely kept away from a place which would undoubtedly have proved al to their health. It is true that a loes and disorderly mob of people, with oaths in their mouths and bad rum in their stomachs, infested the mouths and had rum in their stomachs, interested the vicinity of the Joy Street meeting during the evening, 'making night hideous,' but it does not appear that Mr. Fay and his friends were among them. The evening mob was encouraged, not by the presence, but only by the example of those who figured

The Boston authorities, on this occasion, showed themselves either incapable or unwilling to preserve the rights of unpopular persons in a public meeting. Those who summoned the gathering on Monday and bired the hall, had a clear right to organize the meeting in their own way, and conduct without disturbance the discussions which they proposed. And when other parties went in, and frustrated the designs of those who projected the Convention, and designs of those who projected the Convention, and proceeded to discuss topics not mentioned in the call, with the purpose of breaking up the assemblage, it was the clear duty of the police to eject the intruders from the hall. That they did not do so indicated inefficiency or else indifference to the rights. indicated inefficiency, or else indifference to the rights of citizens, which is worse.—Salem Observer.

THAT ADDRESS.

The Springfield Republican, referring to the eddress issued by Judge Shaw and others, says:—

'There are only four or five names on the lie that can have any influence with the Republicans in behalf of the object desired. The list as a whole is positively a stumbling block in the way peal; and when the Legislature comes tois made, the fact will be m parent. Two-thirds of the men who have sign this unheralded document have no more influence upon the popular will of Massachusetts than James Buchanan or Jefferson Davis—no, nor as much for the latter can control the office-holders and the few thousand who voted the Breckinridge ticket; but these "old Bourbons" of Massachusetts can scarcely govern more voters than the coats on their backs will cover. Whether the men who got up this manifesto in secret caucus, and peddled out the privilege of joining in it to their especial asso ciates and sympathizers, scattered like solitary and almost forgotten trees over the plains of the Com monwealth,—excluding from even the opportunity all the representative men of the party which must do the desired work, if it be done at all,-pursued this course through a stupidity that is bomb-proof against all the teachings of political sagacity, or with the secret purpose of preventing the very re-suit they profess to seek, may well be a serious question with the rest of mankind.'

Judge Shaw and some thirty other elderly and re spectable gentlemen have issued an address urging a repeal of our laws for the protection of personal lib-They think it would save the Union, cast out in South Carolina, fill the Southern States with patriotism, and make slavery as gentle as an angel fresh from heaven. So we understand them.

They do not say, however, that it would secure a faithful execution of the laws against the slave trade, who may have occasion to visit the Southern States : neither do we find in their address any assurance that it would make Wigfall a decent man, or give President Buchanan a dream of manliness. If they had said positively that a repeal of our personal lib-erty laws would cleanse Wigfall and convert Buchanan, we might have been in favor of trying the experiment.

But, seriously, the law in question was not de

signed to nullify, either the Constitution or even the Fugitive Slave Law. It was meant as a precau-tion against kidnapping, and it has a right to remain Any question touching its right the courts. It ha more to do with the present excitement in the country, than with the present civil war in Mexico. The secessionists know and care so little about it, that they cannot quote it correctly. It is not well to it such an exaggerated importance in connection with secessionism; and it does not seem to us becom-ing in Massachusetts men to undertake a crusade gainst it now .- Worcester Spy.

One of the gentlemen who signs this appeal (Prof. Parker,) was one of the Commissioners to revise the Statutes, and assisted to put the Persona Liberty Bill in its present shape in the General Laws. Gen. Cushing, who complains so bitterly of its existence there, and Gen. Butler, another Breckinridge supporter, passed upon these statutes as legislators. If this bill was so palpubly propositivational If this bill was so palpably unconstitutional, so flagrant an outrage on the rights of sister States, why did they suffer it to remain without so much as an effort to remove it? Nevertheless, if it be un-constitutional, let it go, but let us have sufficient The Republicans did not desire to violate the Constitution; and we do not doubt that the Legislature, when the subject comes legitimately before it, will be disposed to do what is right and proper in the premises .- Salem Register

Another prominent name to the Address i equally suggestive. In 1858, when the general voice of conservative men asked his aid in the Legislature to assist in the revision of the statutes, and ican convention nominated him and instruc ted their committee to ask his acceptance simply as a lawyer, and not as a party man, leaving him at liberty to vote against a Republican candidate for United States Senator, Judge Curtis declined an opportunity in which he might have changed this so onstitutional legislation; but now, when political crisis agitates the country, he appears the signer and reputed author of an 'Address to the People,' not a 'petition to the Legislature,' dealing in denunciations of alleged unconstitutional statutes. To say the least, this was a notable inted opportunity, which might have beneficial than the present effort proved far more beneficial than possibly can be.—Atlas and Bee. n the present effort

A QUESTION FOR THE FIVE-AND-THIRTY CITI-ZENS 'OF HONEST AND PROFOUND CONVICTIONS.'
If Congress, in order to secure the constitutional
right of a colored citizen of Massachusetts to go
into South Carolina, and there exercise and enjoy the privileges and immunities that belong to the citizens of that model Republic, should pass a law requiring United States Marshals and Commisthe affidavit of a Yankee skipper, to seize in that State any colored person so sworn to, and by summary process deliver him to the said judicial barrier to protect slave property from bein carried away by such ministerial federal process carried away by such ministerial federal process. Come, good and wise veterans, is your goose-sauce inapplicable to gander? Of course, freedom in Massachusetts is not so sacred as slave property in South Carolina; but, supposing 't was—what then? is absolutely infernal.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 28, 1860.

CLOSE OF VOLUME XXX.

The present number completes the TRIBTIETH VOL-

verable time to subscribe.

chusetts. Those to whom it has been sent are ear- so far from being crushed-ruined- kilt and smash nestly urged to be up and doing, for the time is short ed intirely '-not a bone of us was broken. of the Legislature. Let every family, and every perof the Legislature. Let every lamily, and every person, be tested by its presentation; let it be (as it will) a revelation of character and of purpose; and let the world know how many there are among us who 'remember those in bonds as bound with them,' and are therefore for protecting the fugitive, or, on the other one suggested; and whether the policy suggested hand, how many are still for allowing slave-hunters would not be practically ruinous, as well as disgraceful. to seize their prey with impunity on the Puritan and heir accomplices in kidnapping.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned, citizens of

Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to put an end to eral, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming perpetuate it! him on the ground that he owes 'service or labor' States of this Union.

The riotous interruption of the Anti-Slavery meet- The very best thing that could possibly happen to Richard S. Fay, J. Murray Howe, and others of that members of the Confederacy to apply their united en umns; but little has been said respecting the course mained!" of the daily press of the city toward that meeting.

Does anybody doubt this? Does even Judge Shaw
We purpose, therefore, to say a few words in that
doubt it? It is perfectly plain that a course like this

in any of the daily papers, except the Post. That prosperity such as she has never yet known. had two or three articles well calculated, and we believe expressly designed, to create a riot on the occa-Post proceeded to express the hope that no conflagra- never had before. tion would follow! It is in this insidious manner It is precisely this thing, the weakening and decathat riots are generally created.

Catholic) Pilot,-true to its despotic instincts and excitement and alarm' of the fifteen slave States. We are proud of this (!) It is not likely that the it not an unhoped for blessing and advantage? Why furious Abolitionists amongst us will ever again at- should we fear it? Why should we not rather joyfully tempt to make themselves the exponents of public welcome it? Instead of dreading and counteracting feeling (!) This is the proper fate of criminals and this state of things, our wisdom would be, heartily to their abettors (!) If our city had acted in this man- cooperate with the causes that have produced it. ner before, (!) it is quite certain that the country | The particular motive urged by the Address as rewould not be so agitated as it now unfortunately is (!) quiring immediate action from the citizens of Massa-But better late than not at all; and the present ebul- chusetts, is a fear lest the union of these States be dislition of patriotic sentiment MAY BE FOLLOWED BY A solved; a union which the Address declares to be 'our GREAT MANY ' (!) And thus the Pilot sanctioned the honor and safety, abroad and at home. scoundrelism of the mob, and stimulated to the renewal of similar outrages in time to come! And its really such! publishers and editors are men glorying in the name of Irishmen! Such Daniel O'Connell ever indig- to imprison our sea-faring men, without the pretence antly disclaimed as his countrymen. 'They are of crime on their part, whenever our vessels bastard Irishmen,' he said.

contemptible, as base and unscrupulous, with refe- pay jail-fees for the outrages inflicted on their sailors, rence to the Abolitionists, as any paper in the land. we should, long ago, have demanded and obtained Utterly destitute of all principle, and mercenary in its reparation. At present, we suffer such outrages to be calculations to the last degree, it is sure to cater to constantly committed upon citizens of Massachusetts, the prevailing sentiment of the hour, especially if without even a demand for justice, because we are in that sentiment be adverse to radical reform. Of union with the States that commit them! course, it sanctioned the mob. 'The fellows,' it said, If England, France or Spain had insulted and ignored who got up that meeting, "love to be persecuted," miniously expelled from her territory a Commis and nothing would please them better than to be the sent by Massachusetts to look after the interests and martyrs of a riot.' This is a hydraulic compression rights of Massachusetts men, we should demand and of falsehood and defamation : its accusation and taunt obtain reparation for that. But we have quietly pockare equally malignant and brutal. It has the impu- eted just such an insult and outrage, in repeate dence to declare, - 'The majority in attendance, under stances, because we were, and are, in union with the such a call, had a right to organize the meet- States that committed them! ing, and take part in its proceedings'-though they If a citizen of Massachusetts, high in official station went there for the express purpose of breaking up the and transacting important business for his native State not violate the right of free speech,' says the Jour- half-murdered by officials in either of those countries, nal. This is either very cool lying, or else free expressly because he was transacting his proper busi-

the various articles culled from its columns in the other States that applauded and rejoiced over it! of Phillips and his crew, the empty platitudes of union with the States that commit them ! Summer, and the bravado of Wilson'; it affects con- Is our enforced sufferance of such things as thes tempt for the courage of 'Mr. Wendell Phillips and the possession of 'honor and safety abroad and at Mr. Garrison,' lyingly declaring that 'their names home'? Is it really desirable for us to preserve the came, these leaders of an ignorant and fanatical mul- upon us? Or, if other considerations render its prestitude to sedition and treason' ignominiously skulk- ervation desirable, what security are we to have ed-and it asks, 'Who are the cowards?' sentence it says, 'The truth is, the Abolitionists Strange to say, the Address does not mention have all the freedom of speech on their side '-and point, or notice it! in the next it says, ' After their expulsion from the Temple, they assembled in their rookery on Smith's our continued submission, without remonstrance, Court.' Now it speaks of the 'insignificance of the wrongs like these, but it proposes further concession white and black traitors who assembled at the Tre- to the States from which we are now suffering such mont Temple, to again, in the name of Massachu- outrages, for the sake of continuing the Union with setts, | what deliberate 'ying ! | eulogize the murderer, them ! John Brown'; and, anon, in order to justify the vil- Let us look at these additional concessions. There lanous conduct of Messrs. Fay, Howe, & Co., it cor- are two of them. rectly announces the meeting as called to discuss The first is, that we repeal certain laws, the enact the slavery question, and, therefore, 'all good citiment of which was found imperatively necessary to zens were entitled to take a proper part in its proceed-secure the liberties of our own citizens, on our own ings, and it was organized by the choice of an able soil, from the assaults of citizens of other States, with body of officers, (!) and free speech was vindicat- which we are in union! ed, (!!) and sound resolutions were adopted' (!!!) The second is, that we prevent our own citizen

ADDRESS OF JUDGE SHAW AND OTHERS, TO THE CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

It seems that the men of trade have succeeded in ducing the men of dignity and station to set this key-note for the humiliation of Massachusetts. For-tunately for us, the precipitation of South Carolina has produced a pause in our movements, all men looking with amazement to see what act of unspeakable folly um of the Liberator, in full; but, in consequence of the and her sisters in pro-slavery fanaticism will next the pressure of important matter,—especially in reference.

Most fortunately, at a time when it was to rence to the question of Southern secession,—we be feared that the mass of Massachusetts men would shall add another number to be included in the presmake the foolish and shameful concessions urged in ent volume, which will be published on Monday the Address above named, they are obliged to pause, in consequence of the actual occurrence of the cata We should like to commence our next volume with trophe which they had hoped to avert by the concesa large addition to our subscription list. It is a fa- sions in question. We have been thrown into a panic by the sudden outery of eminent men, 'The house is falling!' What folly might have been committed NO SLAVE-HUNTING IN MASSACHUSETTS. had the fright continued, what sudden, self-destruc The following petition is now in the hands of re- tive rush we might have made, in the moment of liable friends of freedom, in all parts of the Com- alarm, (like Cowper's sheep, who were counselled by monwealth, for immediate circulation. It is pre- their leader to 'leap into the pit,' to escape the territ ciaely the same which, for the two preceding years, ic noise of hounds and horn,) cannot now be told; has been signed by thousands of the most virtuous for, most fortunately, before we had time for action, and humshe action of the people, and which ought the crash came. The dreaded event had taken place; to be subscribed by every man and woman in Massa- and we could stand still, and recognize the fact that, between the present and the period for the assembling | We may profitably use this pause in looking delib-

The Address urges that a large and important part Revolutionary soil of the old Bay State, and to act as of our common country is excited and alarmed, and that this excitement and alarm are real, deep and general, throughout fifteen States. Granted. But before their excitement and alarm

can justify similar feelings on our part, we must look into the cause of them. Why are they thus agitated? The one cause of their disturbance is, that their SLAVE-HUNTING in Massachusetts, by enacting , peculiar institution of negro slavery is growing less that no person, who has been held as a Slave, shall and less secure, and that they see more and more be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Fed- reason to believe that they can neither extend it nor

to such claimant, by the laws of one of the Slave the contrary, the best news, with one exception, that could possibly come to our ears? Have we not long known this villanous 'institution' to be the chief THE PRO-SLAVERY MOBAT THE TEMPLE. disgrace and the chief danger of our country?

ing held at the Tremont Temple on the 3d inst., by the United States would be, for the slaveholding stripe, and its unlawful suppression in the sequel by ergies to the abolition of slavery, and to pursue that Mayor Lincoln, have been duly set forth in our col- work heartily and vigorously, until not a slave re-

would remove the worst evils under which our coun-Prior to the meeting, nothing adverse to it appeared try now suffers, and would open to her a career of

The thing next best-next most to be desired-to a voluntary discarding of slavery by the slaveholders, is sion. It branded the meeting as 'making a severe their inability to extend and maintain it. If elavery test of the forbearance of this community.' It ex- should grow unprofitable, diminish, and gradually die pressed the hope that it would be abandoned, as cal- out, in spite of all the efforts of the slaveholders to culated to augment the general distress and trouble. sustain it, so that, at last, our country should become It taunted James Redpath with being an English- really a free country, a land of liberty, this would be man, and not a citizen of the United States-'a man the next most desirable thing for the whole nation. whose association with the difficulties in Kansas and It would not only be a direct and immense benefit to John Brown had rendered his name obnoxious to us of the North, but it would give all parties, slaves, very many peace-loving (!!) people.' And having slaveholders and non-slaveholders, a chance for perthus played the incendiary, and kindled the fire, the manent and progressive welfare, such as they have

dence of slavery-the second best thing that could After the deed had been consummated, the Boston possibly happen to the nation-that has caused the se pro-slavery feelings, -exulted over it, saying - Is this a cause for the free States to be alarmed? Is

Our honor and safety! Let us see if the Union b

their ports, and to compel our ship-masters, first to The Boston Journal knows how to be as mean and hire additional labor, and then, on their departure, to

meeting by lawless violence ! 'The proceedings did in England, France, or Spain, were to be assaulted and peech has never yet been violated.

Since the riot, the Boston Courier has been preceive reparation! At present, we are submissively eminent in diabolism of spirit and rowdyism of pur- bearing such an insult and outrage because we are pose. For an outpouring of its venom and filth, see in union with the State that committed it, and with

'Refuge of Oppression,' on the first page. Profess- Finally-to make but one further citation from the ing to be on the side of law and order, it glories in long catalogue of injuries and disgraces that Union the most lawless acts, and exhibits towards the has brought upon us-if it were customary for Massafriends of the enslaved the temper and attitude of chusetts men, travelling for health, pleasure or busia Southern overseer towards his cowering slaves. ness in England, France or Spain, to be seized, rob With the insolence of a bully, it proclaims,—'No bed, beaten, imprisoned, tarred and feathered, and insuch assembly, for that or any similar purpose, is sultingly expelled from those countries by their offivery likely to be held in any conspicuous place in cials, only for holding or expressing certain opinions, Boston again.' And so it summons the mob to be in or even merely for being Massachusetts men-we readiness for the next occasion. It stigmatizes the should surely, should we not, demand and obtain heroic and inspired John Brown as 'that desperate reparation. At present, we are in the habit of subruffian and murderer'; it talks of 'the fierce tirades mitting quietly to such outrages, because we are in

> -but when the day of battle Union which has brought these injuries and disgraces In one against the repetition of such outrages?

Strange to say, the Address not only seems to imply

And so it goes on, raving, deceiving, falsifying, bully- from giving relief to destitute and helpless strangers ing, from day to day. Towards Mr. Phillips its spirit who ask it of them, and that we formally make the State of Massachusetts an accomplice in whatever rob. / any cost.

bery of the poor, and oppression of the weak, any citizens of our sister States (1) may choose to cor Strange to say, the Address deliberately recommends these concessions, and represents them as suit-ed to promote the honor and the safety of Massa-the others, it is designed to lift us into a higher plane

In the name of Heaven, what, then, would be her

danger and her disgrace? The names of James M. Beebe and of Henry J. Such is the substance of Mr. Clarke's Christn Gardner seem fitly enough appended to such an Ad- Bre sermon. Being often obliged to chronicle case dress as this. It is a melancholy sign of the low grade in which the pulpit perverts the Gospel, I rejoice to of public morals and religion, when the names of em- mention one case in which the preacher proved him inent Judges, and of popular Clergymen, and of ex- self a minister of the Gospel.'-c. K. w. Presidents of Harvard University, are also found ap-

justice and humanity, the credit of our State and the liver a lyceum lecture in Watertown on Friday evenprotection which we owe alike to its Senators and its ing, rumors were very generally circulated in this mariners, to a superstitious notion of secredness in the city to the effect that a riotous demonstration would Union, which has extorted from us the sacrifice of all be made. The friends and supporters of Mr. Philthese things. We have shrunk from the duty of put- lips, and others who feel interested in demonstrating ting forth our hand to break this bond, this fetter, the fact that any man may say whatever he pleases which men have dignified with the name of Union. anywhere in Massachusetts, were considerably exer But now, when a merciful Providence is kinder to us cised thereby, and some fifty of them went out with than our deserts; now, when the States that have so the expressed determination to protect him at all long outraged us are setting us free by taking themselves away, in God's name, let us not interpose ob- which, at 74 o'clock-the hour appointed for the lecstacles to their departure! Let us not offer further ture - was filled by an audience most respectable protection to that villanous 'institution' which, hav- in every sense of that word. The entrance of Mr. ing lived so far, because we have unjustifiably favored Phillips was announced by a round of applause. it, seems now about to die! Let us not so absurdly Mr. Phillips was introduced by Mr. Miles Pratt, uphold the continuance of slaveholding by Southern who occupied the chair during the evening. After have not manhood enough to act, to advance, in this sided, Mr. Phillips said :emergency, let us at least stand still, and look at the Ladies and Gentlemen, -Some two months ago the enemy! Let us not retreat !- c. x. w.

PEACE AND LIBERTY.

Christ to this people at the present time.

press it, these words of the Hebrew prophet, Isaiah :-

'The spirit of the Lord is upon me, Because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor: He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted,

To preach deliverance to the captives, And recovering of sight to the blind, To set at liberty them that are bruised

and choose the right.

our Christian duties at this hour, in reference to this (Applause.)

itation to do either.

etts, to concede these three things :-

2. To repeal our Personal Liberty Laws.

the mouths of abolitionists to be closed.

these things. What is to be said of them? As to the first-It can never be permitted.

ist; for an indispensable protection of our own citi- mean to leave the Governor alone in that matter; we zens, endangered by the Fugitive Slave Law. It is mean to show him a constituency worthy of such a our manifest duty to provide against the kidnapping Governor. (Applause.) That is the reason why we away; secession movements will blow up in inclinof Massachusetts men; though, strange to say, the are here to-night. And I don't think, with such an eminent men of this State, who are now appealing to audience, I need fear it will be surrendered. Some us to abolish these safeguards, not only suggest no men dread secession; but now, Mr. Chairman, I dread other mode of accomplishing this, but seem neither to concession a great deal more than secession, (Aphave eared for, nor thought of it.

It is complained that these Personal Liberty Laws

I think New York is a great deal nearer to kneel-

re unconstitutional. But this is an error. Portions ing than South Carolina is to walking. The Northof them which were really unconstitutional were re- ern States may give up all which it has been the obpealed, at the suggestion of Governor Banks, soon af. ject of thirty years of agitation to impress upon them, ter their enactment. The existing Personal Liberty and to make them determine to maintain; and I don't Laws, however at variance with particular laws of the care whether they maintain it or not, provided they United States, (the Fugitive Slave Law,) are in no leave our Yankee tongues free to ask all sorts of quesmanner or degree at variance with the United States tions at all sorts of times. Napoleon said he feared

difficulties-to the re-capture of actual fugitives from than five newspapers?

master to recapture the fugitive, but it does not re- Greek drew his sword and said, 'This is more than quire us to do a work so repugnant to justice and hu- them all, for with it I can gain them all!' So I say manity. If we comply with the letter of this law, of the unfettered tongue. Let the North yield all; this is all that the Constitution requires of us. Not let Congress yield all it pleases; let politics yield all was not necessary, but done to show his course. an inch further of concession is to be made to a law it pleases; let the pulpit yield all it pleases; while because none of his predecessors had either the courcontrary to natural justice. Our own principles have the people keep the right of free speech, we can get age or will to do it? But if Mr. Phillips will not contrary to natural justice. Our own principles have some claim to consideration, as well as the demands it all back again. (Applause.) And that is the main say so, some popular orator, like Edward Everette Some claim to consideration, as well as the demands of the Cibraltar that we should see to it that we defend. It may say the same thing; and should we not all sup-Inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts' is no matter to us about the compromises they agree pose that some hostile feeling prompted the utility

stitution permits, and which the letter of the United cook, when she asked him how he would prefer to be duty. It seems rather uncertain whether Mr. Philadvantage and facility are to be given to liberty. Not say to the gentlemen in Congress, 'We care not to an inch beyond the strict letter of the United States be compromised at all. We are to repeal nothing-Constitution is to be yielded to slavery. This second give back nothing.'

pression of the freedom of speech, and interference man says it shall not be delivered, it is of inestima-with public debate about slavery. To stiempt it ble importance that it should be. As Luther said of would be futile, to accomplish it would be dangerous. the Sabbath, when the priests charged upon him at Freedom of speech is our safety-valve. It must never that day, "I don't care what I do on that day, but be given up. There is no danger that this concession if you say I shall not play upon the violis, I will, to will be made, but the very attempt to make it, should show that I had a right to.' Daniel Webster said be exposed and resisted. The voice of Christ now says to us-Seek peace,

but not by falsehood! Seek liberty, but not by ha- was the very time he intended to discuss. So I am tred! Seek peace and liberty, but not by concession here to-night to show that we can meet here in peace, or compromise of principle.

If the slave States choose to go, for the sake of slavery, let them go. But let us adhere to liberty, at now pretty familiar to lecture-goers - 'Toussaint

Christ says to us-When ye hear of wars, and rumore of wars, be not troubled. Let us not be troubled. We have had trials in our past history. The presof action, if we use it faithfully.

Trusting in God, let us adhere to the right. Let us be gentle and sympathizing, yet loyal to truth.

FREE SPEECH AGAIN VINDICATED.

. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., being announced to de-

men, as to offer ourselves to be their slaves! If we the applause which greeted his appearance had sub-

Chairman, Mr. Pratt, and myself made an agreemen that I should come here to lecture in a sort of Lyceum experiment, to see whether we could resume or re-An excellent sermon, suggested by, and suited to, inaugurate the Lyceum courses that have been held the present aspect of public affairs, was preached by in this town in previous years, and we fixed upon this es Freeman Clarke, at the Indiana Place Chapel, night and an old subject to try the temper of the on Christmas Eve. Its subject was: The voice of population of Watertown on that point. Well, since that time some people have lost a good deal of money The coming of Jesus was announced as a coming of in the stock market, who didn't want me to come peace on earth, and good-will to men. And when he here; and one of our State family has run away, and her principal cities? declared his own mission, he chose, as best suited to ex- left the household. We shan't advertise her, or ask anybody to bring her back, nor offer her any reward, (applause,) and people who have felt some degree of grief at her loss from the family table think that I ought not to come here to speak; but what precise connection there is between my speaking and South Carolina going out of the Union, nobody has attempted to discover. (Applause.)

But still there was a great deal of feeling some Liberty and peace are the two chief elements of the where in the neighborhood as to whether Mr. Pratt ork of Christ in the world. There are two kinds of and myself, or our friends in Watertown, should atliberty, and two kinds of peace. And if we would be tempt to reintroduce a Lyceum. Well, we concluded followers of Him, we must discriminate between these, we would try. (Applause.) So here we are to-night to try, and we mean to do our best. If anybody Liberty is the following of that truth which we see don't like it, they can stay away, and if we got ith our own eyes. The following of error, or the through comfortably, we shall probably try some blind adherence to another man's notion of truth, is other lecturer not so unpopular as I am, and see if we can succeed better. It seems to me that Water-Peace, too, may be outward or inward. The true town is a very good place to try the experiment. I peace cannot be bought by mere external conformity, don't know where I could find a fitter field. The still less by a compromise of right, or a concession to earliest record of Watertown, in the history of Massachusetts, is that she was always making difficulty After sketching the strong contrast now existing with the city of Boston. She was always finding between Christmas in Massachusetts and Christmas out some extreme democratic theory of government in South Carolina, Mr. Clarke inquired :- What are which didn't suit Gov. Winthrop and the old South.

Well, it doesn't suit them now. It runs in the Alluding to the difficulty which many people find blood, that same old democratic spirit-words that n judging of this matter, and to the very different have been abused here of late-let us give to them a conclusions to which they come, he said :- A moral respectable meaning-the same old spirit which in difficulty is always a question between truth and love. this town started the first germ of what we may call The question is often solved by sacrificing one of these a real representative government of the Commonto the other. But both should be invariably pre- wealth, which under the first church of elder Knowles made glory for the rest of the colony. I hope it We must never surrender truth for the sake of love, survives now, and that it means that Watertown is nor justice for the sake of peace. Our duty and our not yet ready to give up to State street, but means to wisdom are, firmly to resist the demand, or the solic- have a municipality or township of its own. (Applause.) So we mean to have free speech here, (Con-We are now teset by demands from the South, and tinued applause.) A man always goes home when by solicitations from eminent citizens of Massachu- he undertakes to vindicate his rights-to a place where, if he becomes a pauper, he would have right 1. To allow the undisturbed and permanent estab- of settlement; and I should have a right of settlelishment of slavery in the Territories of the United ment in Watertown, on account of the first settlement-they don't want to have me in Boston. I should have to come back here with you.

3. To allow freedom of speech to be suppressed, and I mean to-night to consider the question whether we should choose our own subject and our own time. We are now called upon to consider and decide As Gov. Andrew excellently says- White or black, rich or poor, hated or loved, at all times, good times and bad fimes, in season and out of season, truth or As to the second-Our Personal Liberty Laws were error, every man has a right to speak what he sees

Constitution. There is no need of repealing them.

But it is further complained that these laws of ours. What would be have said of twelve hundred thousand. sand Massachusetts tongues, infinitely more dreadful

Now what we want to decide at this hour and this This is true, and it is right. It is our duty to favor year is, not whether the North will back down or lips could from any motives be influenced, even usand help the escaping slave. God made him free; stand up, but whether New England keeps her right of discussing free all things. (Applause.) The old by claiming and taking it. The Constitution of the United States allows the costly array, the treasures, and gems, and gold, the quelled as well as any other mob? It may be the 'Article 1. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties.'

Article 1. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights; and if they do, John A. Andrew will never sign the repeal. (Applause.)

I differ from Mr. Phillips, for I think it was necessary for Mr. Dow to quell that mob. But, after all, it is not a contract the rectang prompted used to the rectangle used to the rectang prompted used to the rectangle used to the rectang upon at Washington. They may compromise our

Gentlemen at Washington are making learned In accordance with these just and noble ideas, and speeches and saying what ought to be repealed, what that occasion. He was a magistrate, sworn to see with our own impulses of right and humanity, we will shall be repealed, and what must be repealed. Thank that the laws were faithfully executed, and he had interpose every obstacle to the reënslavement of a hu- you, gentlemen! we have made up our minds to reman being, which the spirit of our own truly free Con- peal nothing. (Applause.) As the fish said to the States Constitution does not deny Every possible cooked-'I don't want to be cooked at all.' So we

oncession is, therefore, not to be granted.

Neither can we grant the third thing claimed, suping but an ordinary literary lecture. But when a the same thing, not quite so humbly, in Congress, that when a man told him he should not discuss, electing our own time and our own subject.

The lecturer then proceeded to deliver his lecture-L'Ouverture. Two or three allusions to John Brown think he erred in ordering blank cartridges to be

were hissed as well as applauded; but otherwise were massed off as such things commonly do everything passes. Having concluded his lecture, it

'hillips said :There! Watertown still lives! (Laughter and sa. plause.) And I don't think any harm has bee either, I wish I could say something worthy na occasion. It is a pity that so many good men the come out here to-night to hear nothing better. oming here was the thing. The sitting here was hour, and going away our own masters. State of has not bought these acres, nor got title-deads of Inhas not bought the (Applause,) While we keep the English language and this glorious Sazon to ours, we mean to use it, wherever we sho the Sidneys, the Adamses, the Han of that day when it was treason to preof that day when it was treamen to pleach he speech. Bu . they preached it if they broke an en pire asunder, and we will sustain it and practice even if the Canada line goes down to M Dixon's. God speed the day-let it tratel (Great applause.)

The lecturer having thus closed his remarks, the hall was rapidly cleared. Mr. Phillips left the ha surrounded by his friends. There was a cons crowd of the curious about the door, some of when amused themselves by crying 'All up!' when the orator appeared. Without meeting any obhowever, Mr. Phillips reached his carriage and length Boston. So far as could be ascertained, no fighting men, or other persons more evil disposed than the newspaper reporters and Mr. Phillips's guard friends above named, who took the trouble to go out from Boston to attend the lecture. [The preceding report we take from the Boston Journal of Saturday

PRO-SLAVERY MORS.

GROVELAND, (Mass.) Dec. 19, 1865 Ma. Epiron-I have read with pain the accounts given by the Boston dailies, of the riotous mob of Sunday, attempting to do injury to the person of Wendell Phillips, Esq.

Is America the land of forty thousand churches and is this the character of the Sundays in one of

Do the pulpits of Boston, -to some extent bigoled and time-serving, - keep silence in these days of trial

lest they should disturb the moneyed aristorn instead of teaching them to worship God? Is this the Puritan Boston of Wilson and Cetton or the patriotic Boston of Hancock and Adams the the first orator of the country cannot stand up in the

place of the great anti-slavery preacher who labe for oppressed humanity till the last What do these rioters think Mr. Phillips is male daunt him, and that money cannot bribe him? Har he not said repeatedly, by actions which 'speak louder than words,' Frangas, non flectes - You ma bend, but shall not break me '-and has setting shown that he is not easily broken? Is not one ma who is true to his own convictions, radical though they be, worth whole seres of your Faya and House Caleb Cushing can stand up in Fancuil Hall, and liken Massachusetts to a piratical ship, and nobely disturbs or threatens him; but when Wendell Philli-Rev. J. Sella Martin, and others, wish to express the opinions upon the 'Abolition of Slavery,' instead of the 'Preservation of the Union,' they are mobiled by duty-loving Mayor Lincoln, and educated Chair

Carlyle says, in his lecture on 'The Hero as Prophet,' 'The greatest of faults is to be conscious of none.' Mr. Richard S. Pay seems to be about as con scious of his faults, relative to the mob, and the injury thereby done to the colored citizens of Boston. as he does of the existence of parliamentary laws and usages.

The mobocrats have not been entirely successful If you hush the whisper for freedom, be sure the next tone you hear will be that of thunder! Some Wendell Phillips will speak in Music Hall, and nobody can help it.

Anti-Slavery meetings may fail of accomplishing their objects, and anniversaries of the martyrdom of John Brown' may fall to the ground before an ignorant mob : but they fall as falls the sandal-tree shed ding perfume upon the axe that brings it to the

The cause of freedom will continue to excite the interest of our people, and will ever awaken them to new and manly efforts. Dr. Adams says, in his sermon on Choate. . Great men are the special gifts of God to a nation, and through it to the world.' 8 God' to a race, and through the elevation of that the cultivation or elevation of a single man, thereby enriches humanity. The days of disunion will pass sive resolves : freedom will be triumphant, and the American slave set free.

THE PORTLAND MOB.

MR. GARRISON: DEAR SIE,-In the address of Mr. Phillips at Music Hall, on the subject of Free Speech, Education and Mobs, I find the following passage:-

"I have known three cases of magistrates quelling

nobs. One was Neal Dow, in Portland—not necessify, I think; done merely to show his courage. Any man who steps one step out of his path to prore his I am sorry to meet with this remark, coming from such a source. I never before knew the same, opinion to be expressed, except by persons in the rum is terest, or political demagogues, or else by persons who had a personal dislike to Neal Dow; and I

should be very sorry to have to think that Mr. Phil-

consciously, by such a feeling.

But why, I would like to ask our friend Phillips. was it not necessary that the Portland mob should be case that some future magistrate may think it right and necessary to quell a mob got up to crush an satislavery meeting, and then will Mr. Phillips say it say so, some popular orator, like Edward Everett,

think, but what Mr. Dow thought was necessary on proclaimed that he should not fail to use all the power with which the law had clothed him to perform that Hps means that it was not necessary to suppress the mob on that occasion, or that it was not necessary to resort to extreme measures to do it. Now, if he means that it was not necessary to suppress the mob on that occasion, and that it would have been better to have let them triumph over the government, and seize and destroy, or convert to their own use. government property, I have no reply to make, for I must acknowledge that he is altogether unsnawersble. But Mr. Phillips is not a no-government man, and therefore I suppose that he meant that it was not necessary to resort to the extreme measures which were used for that purpose. I was a resident of Portland at that time, and although I was not at the mob, I knew, as well as I know any thing about that mob, or the one at Tremont Temple on the 3d instant, that Mr. Dow tried every other messe in his power that he could think of before resorting to u'timate violence and extreme measures. True, I fired, for it secure successo is a ma land, oppose with autho never be kr have done [Translated

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it was necessary, to use balls. The necessity of doing is a matter of opinion. Many persons in Portand, opposed to the measure, have thought they and have done better; but they were not clothed with authority, and therefore their efficiency can never be known. I think he did right, for I should have done the same. D. S. GRANDIN.

Translated for the Liberator from the Boston Pionier (German) of Dec. 20th.] SLAVERY AND MOBOCRACY AT THE

NORTH. to has been the boast of the Republicans, that un-

der Lincoln they would restore freedom of speech and of the press at the South, maintain personal security, &c., and, in a word, carry out the Constitution. What we think of such brag and gammon, our readers have long understood, and we long ago mained, too, that to carry out the Constitution at the South would require as great force and energy as to conquer the South. We have, moreover, enavored to make it clear, that we shall have to provide against the conquest of the North by the South, of course, with the aid of Northern demagogues and mobs, in the interval between the 6th of Norember and the 4th of March,-before we dare to think of trying the opposite experiment.

Thus far, the result has shown that we did not un derrate the Republicans. A few weeks have elapsed since the Presidential election, and already we have so far, that the question is not of the triumph of freedom at the South, but of the preservation of freedom at the North. What greater mockery than lies the fact, that those who would restore freedom of peech at the South, abandon it in their own home, the free States, through indifference and cowardice, after a toilsome victory at the polls? If things connue as hitherto; if what has already happened in Philadelphia, Boston, Brooklyn and Washington, must be taken for a symptom of what is yet to happen; then one day it will read in history : . After the tion of Lincoln, there were in the North American Republic only two parties, -the traitors and the cowards. The former were the supporters of stavery all inhabited States, the latter the supporters of freedom in all-uninhabited Territories.' Look at this, Messieurs Republicans! You wish to keep slavery out of the free Territories, and you virtually allow it to catablish itself in the free States. Or is it nething other than slavery that makes compromises at Washington, and persecutes free speech in Philadelphia and Boston? Where are your Wide Awakes, when the defence of free speech against the brutali-ty of slavery is at stake? Where are your Wide Awakes, when the issue is to crush out the mobocraev that is rampant before your eyes? Where are your organizations, your orators, your leaders, your neiples, your promises? Every where the rabble s drummed together in Union meetings, where the enemies of freedom hold their muster; why do you not call the PEOPLE to their feet, to hold a muster of the friends of freedom? Every where, too, at the North are thousands ready to hang a free man; where are as many ready to defend him? Take away the police, and, in a fortnight, no truly free man would be alive in all the large cities. And yet this North has a victorious party, which wants to carry out the Constitution! Before the victory of the Republican party, one could still speak freely; after this ictory, the lamp-post beckons to such as open their mouths! That is the great step forward. For the first time in the history of this country has one party triumphed in favor of another. Were it not for the Abolitionists and the free negroes, the world would no longer know that there are still at the North free men, determined at every cost to preserve the Republic from dishonor, and freedom from suppression Your chattering in the press, as experience has shown. is not worth a rush. Where to-day you bully, to morrow you crouch; and while to-day you cry, ' No more Compromises!'-to-morrow you yourselves present the compromise on a salver. As long as you do not say and show- Here are so many hundred thou-

and all your denunciations bullying. There is nothing more instructive in the recent history of this Republic than the late occurrences in

and men, who are resolved and prepared not only at all hazards to restore the Constitution at the South, but also to annihilate at the North every violater of

its rights'-all your platforms are but empty words,

We have already noticed the first debut of mobectacy in this most orderly of all American cities. This half-successful début had only tickled the palates of its instigators and abettors, but had not satisfied their appetite. After they saw that they could play the barbarian with impunity,-yes, and with the consent of almost the entire daily press of this city, and the passive approbation of the victorious party, they hankered after more. Sunday before last, Frederick Douglass, a colored man, spoke in Music Hall before Mr. Parker's congregation. In that hall, in which the statue of Beethoven represents harmony, and the din of a fierce mob had never been heard, were present a gang of Southern sympathizers, who sought to continue the tune begun at the Tremont Temple, and to disturb the meeting by rowdyish noises. But they were not strong or resolute enough, and, even without the police, were reduced to silence. This indignity the honor of rabbledom could not brook. The true mob, if it is not floored by grape shot and forced into silence by determined energy, will consider a foiled attempt to commit an outrage as an invitation to the commission of a greater. No wild beast possesses a more obstinate engerness for blood and destruction than a mob whose bestial desires on the one hand are roused and encouraged, and on the other are not kept in check by fear and chassement. It is a chief trait in the character of the mob, as manifested originally at the South, and then mest successfully aped at the North, that it sees in every endurance of an outrage a justification of a new one, and in every repulse of the same a justification of revenge. The argument can impart to it the ess of having perpetrated an outrage, the pleasure of whose repetition only force can rob it of. And if only one weak man confronts it, who can opmob will persecute him the more implacably, the more cowardly he proves himself. Where the weakness of their adversary disarms noble and courageous men from shame and magnanimity, just there the mean and cowardly man serves himself up as a feast of brutality for this weakness. If the people of the Revolution were a noble lion, the people of the Reaction are a loathsome hyena. No greater delight for a mob at the South than when some thousand barbarians can perform the exploit of hanging and burning a lone and fettered negro; no greater delight for a mob at the North, when some thousand spes of bararism can perform the equally great exploit of mobbing a lone and unprotected abolitionist, or of tram-pling his human rights in the dust. To live to see such bestiality in a Republic, and especially in the Cradle of Liberty,' excites a greater loathing and a

cannibal performance in mid Africa. What we experienced last Sunday in Boston beongs in this category. The speaker at the Music Hall was Wendell Phillips, and his theme was, ' Mobs and Education.' It was known that a new, and of arse improved, practical illustration would be lent his subject; wherefore a considerable number of police was deputed to the defence of the quiet Music Hall, md the military kept in readiness. The hall was filled as perhaps never before, and Phillips spoke as unsparingly and resolutely as ever. It was soon manifest, that a large crew of disturbers of the peace

deeper revolting than would the sight of a genuine

fired, for it emboldened the mob, who thought he had there assembled, with the aim of proving their much vaunted enthusiasm. much-vaunted enthusiasm for 'order' and 'constitufrom the Union, whether right or wrong, having now
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take the lamb of proving the same of proving the of slaveholders and their Northern servants. But all stitutional right to do so is useless. Assuming, howtheir pains to disconcert the speaker, or to prevent
the lesson designed for them, were vain. By way of
amends, they had reserved the chief act of brutality
for the street. There outside, from two to three
thousand men awaited the speaker, the greatest,
most radical, most independent, and most eloquent
to a considerable extent, as I presume it will be al-'Cradle of Liberty'! 'Kill him! hang him!'—was of the free States to compel any of the slave States the cry on all sides from the Northern Jack Ketches to remain in the Union, they are not under any obin the service of the slaveholders. And the furious ligation to do so, if they are willing to part with the

> kept this devout populace in praceful seclusion,—the sands in the free States who silently dissent from this greatest orator in America had to be escorted home doctrine; and who are brought, by recent events, to should hang him to a lamp-post by way of recogniz- soon be forced upon us; and the remarks now offered ing his love of freedom! What is freedom, what is a republic, what is right, what is a people, what is humanity, and what is man? Is a republic an institution to rear barbarians? Are republicans necessary to place them in power? But there we have the re-sult of slavery and the consequences of enduring it,
>
> 1. Does the union of all the States give greater and the wretched effect of a 'legal' indulgence of power to resist foreign aggression, and, of course, conditions for which no human law can exist. Slave- importance abroad, than would be possessed by any ry makes a coward of him who endures it, and a can- portion separated? In the early period of our govnibal of him who protects it.

> down to rest in the Italian soil, and lived not to see the reverse. Considering the magnitude of the un this disgrace? How would it have fared with him, easy alave population at the South; the necessity of the author of the revolutionary anti-slavery manifesto protecting the Union from an internal, as well as an from Rome, if, in the sense of that document, he had external enemy, our connexion with the slave States just now in Boston Music Hall defended the rights of is an element of weakness, and not of strength: the man and combatted slavery? Has Boston the am- free States separated would be decidedly more powerbition to become the Northern Baltimore, nay, to surpass Baltimore? In sight of the old Bunker Hill
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> 2. Does our union with slave States increase our monument, is hanging threatened to the men who are credit and respectability among foreign people, and tection of the police? Boston has taken a disgrace the most glorious and admired in the world. upon her, which she must efface at any cost, and | 3. Does the Union ensure to our citizens greate of freedom.

ALL COMPROMISES USELESS.

They could not be bribed, persuaded or coerced into aiding in the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law.

They believe that slavery should be prohibited in the Territories, that it should be abolished in the District of Columbia. They believe that slavery is embedically ain the leaguage of the heaving Suppose. tially, are respectable in numbers and determined in freedom. others taking up the Ark of Freedom, will retire to diminished by separation. North Elba, that Calvary of our cause, and there, It is a consideration of momentous importance, that

SECESSION AGREED UPON.

VALUE OF THE UNION.

orator in America, in order to-hang him, in the lowed on all hands, that whatever may be the right mob would have made good their word, if the man seceding States. The only question, therefore, now to whom they had selected for a martyr to freedom had be considered, is the policy of preventing or permit-

been without defence. A small number of deter-mined friends kept off the fists of the barbarians, but This question has not been discussed; for it has they would probably have been overpowered, had not been taken for granted by all parties, that the Union the police strengthened the escort, and accompanied is in itself a blessing; that its dissolution would be

ibal of him who protects it.

ernment, when the States were few and weak, this Shall we congratulate Theodore Parker, that he lay might have been true; but now the truth is directly

fighting on the new Bunker Hill against the new op- admiration of our republican institutions? It is the pression? If the spirit which now so unexpectedly uniform testimony of all travellers abroad, that our rears its shameless head in this city is still to live country is perpetually reproached with its maintesome time, Senatur Toombs need not bring his negroes nance of slavery : it is the triumphant excuse of deshere, in order, for the fulfillment of his prophecy, to potism; the discouragement of the advocates of popucall the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill. lar freedom. The free States, while in the Union, The roll of his white slaves in Boston is already cannot plead exemption from responsibility for it; longer than that of the black ones on his plantation for it is well known, that as great a support of slave-will ever be. What is left of freemen here, if the ry is effected by party ties at the North, as by slavefree word, whose surest protection should be the holding interests at the South. Delivered from con spirit of the people, can be spoken only under the pro- nexion with slavery, our free confederacy would stand

she herself has not the will and the strength harmony, order and good government? It is scarcely to do so, the State must come to the rescue. They necessary to answer this question; for the most want to destroy freedom in Boston, that the money-bag may quietly serve the slave-whip. Unless the ble conflict' which has disturbed our quiet, enlaws of the world are reversed, all Boston must be de- croached on our rights and interests, and outraged stroyed, sooner than it should witness the destruction our humanity, has entirely proceeded from our political connexion with slaveholding communities, and would cease with our separation.

4. Does the Union insure peace between the North-NEW YORK, Dec. 17, 1860. ern and Southern sections of the country? Should Are we in earnest? How vain is the hope by any there be an attempt on the part of the free States of tinkering of a committee to effect a settlement of this controversy that shall be satisfactory to the North into the Union, undoubtedly there would be war; but and the South! Let us for a moment look at the true should any States be permitted to secode by agreement issue. More than half of those who voted for the and mutual consent, there would be no danger of war, Republican President elect, as we think, believe that The free States would have no interest or disposition slavery is a sin. They are desirous to relieve the to make war on the slave States; and the slave States, Government of all responsibility with and for it. in view of their slave population, would not venture

batically—in the language of the heroic Sumner—a barbarous institution; that a Christian man can no more sanction or uphold slavery, than he could sanction or approve of murder, adultery or arson. We believe in the higher law; and we claim the right to interpret the Constitution as we understand it. We penal laws; and that even these have not always the power to suppress such commerce. While the manufacture of the North afferd a rood market for the tell you plainly and frankly—you of the Slave States, you slaveholders, while we disclaim any personal contained to suppress such commerce. While the manufacture of the North afford a good market for the your slaveholders, while we disclaim any personal contained to suppress such commerce. tions. We declare uncompromising hostility against slavery,—politically under the Constitution, and them; no such restrictions would be borne by the morally and religiously everywhere on the face of the people of either republic. The loss of the revenue earth. We may be mistaken in assuming that more also, collected mostly at the North, and expended than half the Republican party hold these views; mostly for the benefit of the South, would be avoided; but we think, from the manner such sentiments are and this would more than compensate for any possible greeted at popular meetings, that such is the case. diminution of trade; and, certainly, no pecuniary At any rate, the party holding such views, substan- gain should be considered in opposition to political

purpose, as the compromisers will find if they under- 6. But the most serious and paramount question is take to make concessions inconsistent with the Chicago the effect of the Union on the intelligence, humanity Convention. That Convention and its candidate but and morality of the North. All unbiassed travellers faintly and feebly represented the moral conviction of in the slave States, and even residents, who are not Anti-Slavery men and women in the Free States. interested to make misrepresentations, invariably rep-Pressing hard in the rear of that political organization, resent these attributes as at a far lower ebb than in and supporting it, are the material interests and the free States. The denial of the Scriptures to the humane influences of the times. We cannot re- slaves, causing their more general disuse; the discourverse the engine of human progress. Men of mer- agement of other instruction; the frequent lynchings, cenary aims may damage and retard the movement, expulsions, and murders, denote an awful state of but the swelling tides of truth are rolling in with re- barbarism; the complexions of a great portion of the sistless power, and before them this ancient wrong must retreat. Let, then, every patriot, every antislavery man, in this hour of peril, stand firm. Whatintemperance and profanity evince a depravity as low ever the result, let us do our duty. If driven from as that of savage communities. I do not deny ex-Washington, we will retire with our faces to the ceptions; I speak of the state of society as a whole enemy. They may push their successes as they Now it is next to impossible, that communities thus threaten-to Philadelphia, New York and Boston. connected by political ties, strengthening those of a Slavery may review its forces in Beacon street-call social and relative nature, should not have a corruptits roll on Bunker Hill. It may spread its tents in ing influence, diminishing aversion, and obstructing Newburyport, and use its Cushing for the legitimate the advance of intelligent and moral sentiment at the purpose for which cushions are made. It may form North; and, accordingly, we perceive this effect in hollow square around the grave of Webster, and the great increase of crime, noticed by moralists, par through Nehemiah Adams reiterate the sentiment of which is indeed to be ascribed to immigration, but that the Blue Ridge of Virginia is higher than the quite as much or more to the influence of Southern throne of God. Still, all is not lost. Quincy and manners. It is noticeable, that this vicious conduct Plymouth Rock are left; and, if driven from these, the friends of liberty, with their leaders and prophets, norant masses, who are the least opposed to the con-Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, Beecher, Giddings and tinuance of slavery. This influence would be much

over the grave of its martyr, we will inaugurate by by the division between the free and slave States, the our death, if need be, a conflict which shall end only former will be exempted from the tyrannical and in universal emancipation.

J. H. C. odious Fugitive Slave Law, and from all obligation to return escaped slaves to the cruel punishment of their CHARLESTON, Nor. 20. The Convention met to-day at 11 o'clock.

Mr. Rhett's resolution for a committee of thirteen to provide for the assemblage of a Convention of the seceding States to form a Constitution was adopted.

Mr. Inglis reported the following ordinance:

We, the people of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare-and ordain that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the 23d of May, masters, which is so torturing to the feelings of hu

assembled, do declare and ordain that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the 23d of May, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and all acts or parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying the amendments to said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.

The ordinance was passed unanimously by 169 members, at a quarter past one o'clock.

The news spread rapidly, and a crowd collected amid immense cheering.

Mr. Miles moved that the Clerk telegraph the intelligence to the members at Washington. Carried unanimously.

The ordinance was ordered to be accessed to the members at Washington. Carried unanimously.

THE DOUBLE-DEALING OF THE SOUTH. I had some good meetings, and there seemed to be

The real design of the actors in the secession movement is becoming every day more and more apparent. Undernesth the mass of resolutions offered in Congress, embracing 'plans' for adjustment of Southern 'claims,' and the bluster, bullyism and terrorism of the unreasonable and unreasoning masses of men in the South, there is beginning to crop out that which is always presented in the second of the unreasonable and unreasoning masses of men in the South, there is beginning to crop out that which he and her in the South, there is beginning to crop out that which he and her in the South, there is beginning to crop out that when in the South, there is beginning to crop out that which he and her in the South, there is beginning to crop out that which he and her in the South, there is beginning to crop out that the second of the own of the sour problem. which by-and-by will stand in bold-relief, the one the expenses out of his own pocket. I reckon this all-absorbing, all-directing motive, at once the cause and foundation of all existing disturbances. Look!

My next visit was on Cape Cod, where we always see! yonder out of the boiling sea of discord and commotion, stready half-discerned through the vapory elements, a mighty and magnificent empire! As may catch glimpses of the celestial city. the clouds disperse, behold her gilded palaces, her lofty turrets, her temples of science and religion tow- Orthodox minister. Mr. Munson invited me into his ering up to greet the earliest rays of the sun of her meeting house, -as he had done once before during independence! Who but the unimaginative can the year,—to plead the cause of the slave. To meet withstand this glorious vision? The Great Southern such a minister is like an easis in the desert. If all Confederacy, the pride of the nations, the paragon of empires, the patron of art and science, the nurwork, the days of slavery would be few in this land. Mr. Phillips to his house.

An enormous evil; that it must be preserved at all consider this fact. In the year 1860, after a Republican victory, in the freest city of the republic, in with the leading politicians and papers in all except magnificent harbors furnishing safe anchorage to the Dec. 2d,—that day made memorable forever by publican victory, in the freest city of the republic, in broad daylight and on Sunday,—that day which once kept this devout populace in praceful seclusion,—the greatest orator in America had to be escorted home by a police force, lest the freedom-loving populace should hang him to a lamp-post by way of recognizing his love of freedom! What is freedom, what is a republic, what is right, what is a people, what is humanity, and what is man? Is a republic an institution in its simplest form is, what is manity, and what is man? Is a republic an institution in the freedom and papers in all except the schopling of every people and clime, her ports the shipping of every people and clime, her ports the mark to world, her did two good meetings in Fall River. In the ever- and two commodious and only needful basis of her wealth, and above all her splendid Church and two good meetings in Fall Riv tion of 33,000,000 of freemen should suspend all At the close of my address, a gentleman arose, and offered the following resolution:—

this! No wonder that the Union threatens to crack and dissolve under the pressure of such a crushing wark of American slavery. thought!

Canada—we say it is mighty hard that we can't be cushman, who has a brother in Boston who is a allowed to gratify this poor man's wish, without being United States Commissioner. liable to punishment therefor, on application to the It was talked about town that our meeting in the legal authority, by a ruffian barbarian living a thou- evening would be mobbed and broken up by genteel sand miles off. Why, we can't even choose a Presi-dent, or a Governor of a State, or enact a law, or Boston. But the Mayor and Chief of Police were speak or publish a word, or travel South as our Na-on hand, with the determination to protect the freeout getting a black or white mark on our backs; or do disturbed, as the meeting in Boston would have been anything under the heavens tending in the slightest if those functionaries there had been equally faithful. degree to illustrate our love for freedom rather than Some of my meetings in the week time have slavery, without thereby preparing halters for our failed, others have been well attended. The peti-

termined, if they can't go off and leave us, to con- would be equally faithful, the labor of the Agents stantly try to frighten us out of our wits with cries of secession; and yet, these poor deluded creatures, who have flattered themselves that they do frighten us—and it is a fact that they have, some of us—now pitality of the home of our friends Samuel and Elizabegin to tell us themselves, and through their repre- beth Chase, where many a weary worker in the sentatives in Congress, that they don't care a snap world's reform has found rest to soul and body. about our State legislation, or the choice we have just made of President; and some of them begin to whisper-(we are glad to see even faintest signs of returning honesty)-that they not only do not now care for us or our legislation, but that they never did; that ideas and institutions; that we cannot live together on any peaceable terms for this reason, and that there- The Ladies who have for so many years received fore they are determined to 'cut stick,' whether we the Subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask like it or not. Now there is no chance for an argu- the favor of their company, as usual, at this time of ment here. We concede the point. Our ideas and the year, on institutions are different and irreconcilable, and we don't complain of you because you dislike this fact.

Evening, in Boston. Why under the sun didn't you ever tell us of this As accidental omissions are almost unavoidable, before? Why don't you instruct your representatives in Congress to let it straight out to the Nation, Ladies hasten to say, that all who hate slavery, and so that we can all understand what it is you are driving at? Then we shall have something to talk by. It is always best to be honest, not because it is best policy'—the devil invented thir phrase—but the devil invented thir phrase—but admitted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washingbecause it is best, and that's the long and short on't.

Why, in the name of common sense, if you want to homes. go out of the Union, and set up for yourselves, haven't you pluck enough to say so? We always thought you had pluck; for bowie-knives and pistols, tar, feathers and hemp, sell well in your section. Why, you always said you had pluck, and we never denied it-some. If you desired to go out of the Union, why did you want to fetch it about in such a sneaking way? Why compel editors, and speechmakers, and philosophers, and all sorts of thoughtful men, all over the nation, on the other side of the Atlantic and in Congress, to spend their money and their treasure to argue about personal liberty bills, and fugitive slave laws, and constitutions, and supreme courts, and presidential elections, and a thousand other things, and thus absorb the money and time and intellect of the people about matters which have no possible bearing on your case? O, this is poor, miserable business for Southern chivalry! It looks as if you were not so honorable and aboveboard as we used to suppose you to be. Now, for once, let us play a fair game; be serious, frank and honest. Use no longer those old edgless, pointless, rusty weapons of cunning and chicanery, employed so successfully in times past, in hewing your way to power. Strip off the mask! With open face and steady eye, clearly and honestly state your case! Urge the 'incompatibility of the two systems of labor,' and that, BECAUSE of this incompatibility, you both honestly see and feel the necessity of separation. Make your appeal in man-fashion to the free, magnanimous North, and you shall not lack the listening ear. But do not, as you value your manhood, place yourselves in the attitude of hypocrites and cowards, and pre-tend to claim redress for grievances you never suf-

LETTER FROM A. T. FOSS. VALLEY FALLS, (R. I.) Dec. 14, 1860.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON :

little disturbed

There were three things that were most unfavora- The Germania Band will fill the pauses of co teligence to the memoers at Washington. Carried unanimously.

The ordinance was ordered to be engrossed on purchment, and to besigned by the President and members, at six and a half o'clock this evening, at Institute Hall, and to be placed in the archives of the Institute Hall, and to be placed in the archives of the Hour.

The Atlantic Montaly, for Jenusry, 1881, was just on the heel of the Presidential election. Secondly, the weather was unpropitious, rain falling table of contents, including a timely paper on 'The Question of the Hour.'

The Atlantic Montaly, for Jenusry, 1881, was just on the heel of the Presidential election. Secondly, the weather was unpropitious, rain falling table of contents, including a timely paper on 'The Question of the Hour.'

I supposed the speaker was one of our friends, of Really, it is a hard case that well-disposed citizens, as everybody knows Northern men to be, should be constantly compelled almost at stated intervals to desist from our labors when we would much prefer to Democratic party was not equally involved in this be at work to earn a few dollars for the support of our families, than to listen to harangues about secession and dissolution every time we would do a kind or honest ty, provided I could shoot through the heart of thing either as citizens, Christians or men. We say it is confounded hard that, because we just want to net out the religion which our mothers taught us in infancy and youth, and which our Bibles and commission which is could not account for, as I was quite sure which I could not account for, as I was quite sure. mon sense teach us now-we say it is hard that in I was saying nothing pungent or witty; but all was the exercise of that benevolence which our religion declares to be a duty, so that when a poor man knocks I learned that my ultra anti-slavery friend was no at our doors, and asks for bread or inquires the way to other than a Democratic lawyer, by the name of

tional Constitution says we may, or even trade, with- dom of speech, and so the large audience was un-

own necks, or tar and feathers for our backs.

Tion for a Personal Liberty Bill meets with some favor,
Now it is a fact, and we must say it even at the
but will not be as numerously signed as last year. risk of our lives, that we do not like this state of things; and yet, it is because of this that our Southern (some of them brethren, not all) are de-

> Yours truly. A. T. FOSS.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY

there is a diverse and irreconcilable difference in our SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN. MARY MAY. LOUISA LORING, L. MARIA CHILD, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ANNE WARREN WESTON. MARY GRAY CHAPMAN. HELEN ELIZA GARRISON. SARAH SHAW RUSSELL. PRANCES MARY ROBBINS CAROLINE WESTON. MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, SARAH P. ATKINSON, ELIZA ANDREW. LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, SARAH P. REMOND. SARAH RUSSELL MAY. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL. AUGUSTA G. KING, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM, ANNA SHAW GREENE. ELIZA APTHORP. MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT. MATTIE GRIFFITH, ANNE LANGDON ALGER, MARY E. STEARNS.

The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or fered. Do not, like a pettifogging lawyer, meanly seek to throw the burden of proof on the shoulders of those who never offended you, and thus 'assume a virtue' which you know you do not possess. Shoulder to shoulder, in a solid unit, press straight to the issue. Declare your preference for a separate existence; but don't disgrace your nature, and the Union to which you now belong, by an effort to sneak away from us under the cover of a lie, and then feel yourfrom us under the cover of a lie, and then feel yourselves forced to steal the property of the United
States in defence of a position which you will vainly
w.

where we have ever had correspondence,
strive to maintain! nor an individual whose heart is in unison with our on this subject, will be found wanting to our list We have ample opportunity to know that there are many such at the South as well as at the North, for we are not exclusively of Northern birth, nor all free from Permit me to give the friends of our cause a brief account of my recent Anti-Slavery labors.

In the month of October, I was about two weeks in the county of Coos, (N. H.) among the everlast-subscriptions by letter. Some of the ladies will be ing hills. There has been but little anti-slavery ready, while directing the arrangements for the evelabor in this part of New Hampshire, and consequently the reign of pro-slavery Democracy has been but tions of all their friends who prefer to make their calls during the day.

· WOMAN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW.'

MRS. DALL'S LECTURES, 16 SUMMER STREET. Mrs. Dall will deliver a course of Lectures on three successive Wednesday afternoons, at the Room of the Young Men's Christian Union, No. 16 Summer street,

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 9th, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

Jan. 9. French and English Law. Jan. 9. French and English Law.
Oriental basis for the Law's estimate of woman.
Common proverbs. Roman Law not pertinent. The
estimate of the French Law shown in the rights of
property, marriage and franchise. Women in the
public employ never promoted. The estimate of the
Law regulates the price of Labor. The Lawe's Resolution. English Common Law. Divorce for hopeless insanity not allowed. Results. Anecdote of
a London Court Room. Sir Charles Morgan's Aunt,
and her opinion of the Law.

Jan. 16. The English Common Low-continued. Jan. 16. The English Common Love—continued.

Equity. The Law's estimate of a woman's truthfulness. Divorce by Act of Parliament. The Hon.

Mrs. Norton. Hungarian Law contrasted with the English. Practical immorality of the Law, which makes virtue in the wife depend on rigitance in the husband. Suffrage. Objections met. The Art Critic and Rosa Bonheur. Suffrage a death-blow to three kinds of Law. Harris v. Butler. Delicate discussions in Parliament. Divorce Bill. Duke of York's Trial. John Stuart Mill on Suffrage. Women of Upsal. 'Dames de la Halle.' Blackwood in 1854. Abbesses in Parliament. Buckle's Lecture. Changes in Canada. Pitcairn's Island.

Jan. 23. The U. S. Laws and the Secret of Success. The despotism of & Republic. Kent. The man's

Jan. 23. The U. S. Laws and the Secret of Success.

The despotism of a Republic. Kent. The man's notion. Poynter on Consistency. The Laws of nineteen States changed in ten years. Graham's decision. Mrs. Dorr's claim. New York Bill. Complication of legislation. Mrs. John Adams and Mrs. Hannah Cobbold. Human rights. Patient thoroughness the title to respect. Through Labor to Suffrage. Mean men. Woman's right to man as counsellor and friend. The historical development of the question. The practical question. Mahomet and the Venetian Catechism.

Catechism.

These lectures are given in the afternoon in order to permit persons from the neighboring towns to attend. The subject is very little understood by women, and this course of lectures concludes the twelve Mrs. Dall originally projected.

Doors open at 2, P. M. Admittance to each lec-

NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. Conventions, in the State of NEW YORK, to be addressed by Rev. Beriam Green, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Rev. S. J. May, Aanon M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony, and others, will be held as fol-

lows :		-10
Buffalo,	Thursday, Friday,	Jan. 3, 4.
Lockport,	Sunday.	6.
Albion,	Tuesday, Wednesday,	W. 8, 9,
Rochester,	Friday, Saturday, Sun.	, 11, 12, 13.
Utica.	Monday, Tuesday,	" 14, 15.
Rome,	Thursday, Friday,	* 17, 18.
Cortland.	Saturday, Sunday,	. 41 10, 20.
Fulton.	Tuesday, Wednesday,	* 22, 23.
Oswego,	Thursday, Friday,	. 24, 25.
Port Byron,	Saturday, Sunday,	" 26, 27.
Syracuse, .	Tuesday, Wednesday,	. 4 29, 30.
Auburn.	Thursday, Friday, Jan	. 31, Feb. 1.
Peterboro'.	Saturday, Sunday,	Feb. 2, 3.
noons and even sessions FREE-	s of the Conventions wings, at 2 and 7 o'clockevening sessions, 10 cen-	Afternoon ts.

The friends in the several places will give free en-rtainment to those in attendance from the country.

NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION.

The Fourth Annual New York State Anti-Slave-ry Convention will be held at Albany, in Association Hall, Monday evening, Tuesday and Wednesday, af-ternoons and evenings, Feb. 4, 5, 6. Wendell Phil-lips, Hon. Gersit Smith, Lucretia Mott, Rev. Beriah Green, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Oliver Johnson, Rev. S. J. May, Auron M. Powell, Susan B. Authony and others will address the Con-ventions.

ventions.

Afternoon sessions will commence at half-past 2 o'clock. Admission free. Evening sessions at half-past 7 o'clock. Admission, 10 cents.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

The Second Annual New York State Woman's Rights Convention will be held at Albany, in Association Hall, Thursday and Friday, afternoons and

evenings, Peb. 7 and 8.

Lucretia Mott, Wendell Phillips, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Hon, Gerit Smith, Rev. Beriah Green, Rev. S. J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony and others will address the Con-

Afternoon sessions at half-past 2 o'clock. Admission free. Evening sessions at half-past 7 o'clock. Admission 10 cents.

ESSEX CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY .-The next meeting of this Society will be held at Lawrence, Sunday, Jan. 30th, day and evening. Chas.
L. REMOND and A. T. Foss and others will speak.
The public are invited.
CHARLES L. REMOND, President.

LYDIA M. TENNEY, Sec'y. SIXTEENTH COURSE.

The Fifth Lecture Defore the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society will be given by Rev. SUMNER ELLIS, of Lynn, on Sunday evening, Dec. 30th, in Lyce-um Hall, at 7 o'clock. Admittance five cents. CAROLINE BALCH, Rec. Sec.

IF H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak at Friday, Dec. 28. Sunday, 30. Monday, 31. North Oxford, Leicester, Oakdale, West Boylston, Tuesday, Wednesday, Princeton, Sunday,
Tuesday,
Thursday, Clinton, Lancaster, Harvard, Friday, " 11. Sunday, " 13. Groton, Pepperell,

SITUATION WANTED .-- A lady who has had large experience in matters of house-keeping, and who is eminently qualified satisfactorily to discharge who is eminently quantum assistance only to use harden the duties connected therewith, desires a situation either as house-keeper, or matron of some establishment, in this city or vicinity. The best of references given. Address X., Anti-Slavery office, 221 Washington street.

> RESSIE S. LOCKWOOD, M. D. No. 34 AUBURN STREET, BOSTON.

Particular attention paid to the Diagnosis and Treatment of Chronic Diseases.

Office Hours from 11, A. M., till , P. M.

Nov. 23.

3m.

FREE DISPENSARY,

FREE DISPENSARY,
For Women and Children, 274 Washington street,
Boston. Open every day, from 12 to 1 o'clock.
The above institution (in connection with the
LADIES' MEDICAL ACADEMY) is now open for
the gratuitous treatment of Women and Children,
and for Surgical Patients of both sexes. Difficult
cases may have the benefit of a Consultation on
Wednesdays, at 12 o'clock.
Midwiffer. Attendance by duly qualified female
practitioners will be provided for the poor, at their
own homes, free of charge.
Dr. Bessie S. Lockwood, Physician for December.

COMMONWRALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. MIDDLESEX, ss. To the Heirs at Law, Creditors, and all other persons interested in the last Will of JOHN CABOT, late of Newton, in said county,

JOHN CABOT, late of Newton, in said county, deceased, testate:

WHEREAS, application has been made to me to appoint Gronor Jackson, of Boston, Trustee under the Will of said deceased, in the place of Frances Jackson, of Boston, in the county of Suffolk, resigned—you are hereby cited to appear at a Probate Court, to be held at Cambridge, in said county of Middlesex, on the second Tuesday of January next, at nine o'clock before noon, to show cause, if any you have, against granting the same.

And the said George Jackson is hereby directed to give public notice thereof, by publishing this citation once a week, for three successive weeks, in the newspaper called the Liberator, printed at Boston—the last publication to be three days, at least, before said Court.

Witness my hand, this 27th day of November, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty.

WILLIAM A. HICHARDSON,

Judge of the Probate Court.

A true copy: attest, J. H. Tylke, Register.

CLERICAL APOLOGISTS AND DEFENDERS OF SLAVERY. BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

[In the report of a celebrated pro-slavery meeting in Charleston, S. C., published in the Courier of that city, it is stated, 'The CLERGY of all denominations attended in a body, LENDING THEIR SANCTION TO THE PROCEEDINGS, and adding by their presence to the impressive character of the scene'!]

Just God !- and these are they Who minister at Thine altar, God of Right! Men who their hands of prayer and blessing lay On Israel's Ark of light !

What! preach and kidnap men? Give thanks-and rob Thy own afflicted poor? Talk of Thy glorious liberty, and then Bolt hard the captive's door ? What! servants of Thy own

Merciful Son, who came to seek and save

The homeless and the outcast,-fettering down The tasked and plundered slave! Pilate and Herod, friends! Chief priests and rulers, as of old, combine! Just God and holy! is that church, which lends

Strength to the spoiler, Thine? Paid hypocrites, who turn Judgment aside, and rob the Holy Book Of those high words of truth which search and bur In warning and rebuke?

Feed fat, ye locusts, feed ! And, in your tasseled pulpits, thank the Lord That, from the toiling bondman's utter need, Ye pile your own full board !

How long, O Lord! how long Shall such a priesthood barter truth away, And, in Thy name, for robbery and wrong At Thy own alters pray?

Is not Thy hand stretched forth Visibly in the heavens, to awe and smite? Shall not the living God of all the earth, And heaven above, do right?

Woe, then, to all who grind Their brethren of a common Father down! To all who plunder from th' immortal mind Its bright and glorious crown !

Woe to the priesthood! woe To those whose hire is with the price of blood-Perverting, darkening, changing as they go, The searching truths of God !

Their glory and their might Shall perish; and their very names shall be Vile before all the people, in the light Of a world's liberty.

Oh! speed the moment on, When Wrong shall cease-and Liberty, and Love, And Truth, and Right, throughout the earth be known

STANZAS FOR THE TIMES. . BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Is this the land our fathers loved, The freedom which they toiled to win? Is this the soil whereon they moved? Are these the graves they slumber in ? Are we the sons by whom are borne The mantles which the dead have worn And shall we crouch above these graves. With craven soul and fettered lip? Yoke in with marked and branded slaves, And tremble at the driver's whip? Bend to the earth our pliant knees, And speak-but as our masters please? Shall outraged Nature cease to feel? Shall Mercy's tears no longer flow? Shall ruffian threats of cord and steel-

The dungeon's gloom-th' assassin's blow, Turn back the spirit roused to save The Truth, our Country, and the Slave? Of human skulls that shrine was made, Round which the priests of Mexico

Be fore their loathsome idol prayed ;-Is Freedom's after fashioned so? And must we yield to Freedom's God, As offering meet, the negro's blood? Shall tongues be mute, when deeds are wrought

Which well might shame extremest hell? Shall Pity's bosom cease to swell? Shall Honor bleed ?-shall Truth succumb? Shall pen, and press, and soul be dumb? No-by each spot of haunted ground,

Where Freedom weeps her children's fall-By Plymouth's rock, and Bunker's mound-By Griswold's stained and shattered wall-By Warren's ghost-by Langdon's shade-By all the memories of our dead !

By their enlarging souls, which burst The bands and fetters round them set-By the free Pilgrim spirit nursed Within our inmost bosoms, yet-By all above-around-below-Be ours th' indignant answer-NO

No-guided by our country's laws, For truth, and right, and suffering man, Be ours to strive in Freedom's cause. As Christians may-as freemen can! Still pouring on unwilling ears That truth oppression only fears.

What! shall we guard our neighbor still, While woman shricks beneath his rod. And while he tramples down at will Shall watch and ward be round him set. Of Northern nerve and bayonet?

And shall we know and share with him The danger and the growing shame? And see our Freedom's light grow dim, Which should have filled the world with flame And, writhing, feel, where'er we turn,

A world's reproach around us burn? Is't not enough that this is borne? And asks our haughty neighbor more? Must fetters which his slaves have worn, Clank round the Yankee farmer's door? Must he be told, beside his plough, What he must speak, and when, and how?

Must he be told his freedom stands On Slavery's dark foundations strong-On breaking hearts and fettered hands. On robbery, and crime, and wrong? That all his fathers taught is vain-

That freedom's emblem is the chain? Its life-its soul, from slavery drawn? False-foul-profane! Go-teach as well Of holy Truth from Falsehood born! Of Heaven refreshed by airs from Hell! Of Virtue in the arms of Vice! Of Demons planting Paradise!

Rail on, then, 'brethren of the South'-Ye shall not hear the truth the less-No seal is on the Yankee's mouth, No fetter on the Yankee's press From our Green Mountains to the See One voice shall thunder-wn ARE FREE!

. Speed on the light to those who dwell And through the blackness of that hell. Let Heaven's own light break in !

THE LIBERATOR.

The Northern sword, or Western spear,

Their slogan yell of death !

To sentinel your door, And soon the dreadful sound would com-

All this you know, you braggart knaves! We're of your tricks aware:

For the Liberator.

LINES.

Suggested by reading the Proclamation of the Presi-

O, James Buchanan! are you thinking That prayer will save a ship from sinking, If, all the tiresome labor shirking,

The sail our resome lador shirking. The sailors pray, instead of working? Dost think that going without eating, And each attending his own meeting, And saking God the work to do, That He has given to me and you, One day of such 'humiliation'

Can help to save our guilty nation? After that day, will there not be

Ah! James Buchanan! some bright day

You'll learn how slaves and freemen pra:
A voiceless prayer, yet heard on high.
And God will answer by-and-by:
We know full well our country's needs;
Our holiest prayers are noble deeds;
Such prayers go heavenward every day—
Yes, James Buchanan, we will pray;
But we'll not ask our God to save
The Union whilst it holds a slave!

From the New York Tribune.

PRAYER MEETING IN A STORM.

A gale came up from the sou'-sou'-west;
'Twas fierce November weather:
But the ship had felt such a storm before,

The captain stood on the quarter-deck-

'Twis my watch below in the former gale— I doubt if we'll weather Hatteras. The wind on the one side blows me off,

The current sets me shoreward:

And seem to be going forward.'

Breakers ahead!' cried the watch on the bow;

Hard up! was the first mate's order; feels the ground-swell, the passengers cried, And the seas already board her!

I'll just lay too between them both,

The foresail split in the angry gust: In the hold the ballast shifted:

And an old tar said—'If Jackson steered We shouldn't thus have drifted!'

But the captain cried—'Let go your helm!'
And then he called to the bo'swain—
'Pipe all hands to the quarter-deck,
And we'll save her by Devotion!'

The first mate hurled his trumpet down ;

The old tars cursed together,
To see the good ship helpless roll
At the sport of wave and weather.

Yards crack, and masts are started;
And the captain weeps and says his prayers,
Till the hull be mid-ships parted:
But God is on the steersman's side—
The crow are in sanglution.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF FRIENDS OF

An adjourned meeting of philanthropic persons

The Chairman briefly alluded to the former meet.

and the time and place at which such Convention

ing to the present one for final consideration :-

the exception of our frontier Indians, who are literal-

1. The reason why the Indians have not become

4th The location and extent of the domain or do.

5th. The propriety of aiding all the principal tribes

3d. A plan for their future government.

place, during the coming summer, to dete

themselves relative to the foregoing points.

the proposed Convention be appointed.

in their respective papers.

THE INDIAN TRIBES.

BATARD TAYLOR.

The tattered sails are all a-back,

The crew are in revolution;

The wave that washes the captain off

Will save the Constitu

at Allston Hall. Tremont street.

filled by Dr. H. F. Gardner.

subjects shall be considered :

civilized.

And her planks still held together.

And thus, though the howling tempest showed
No signs of diminution,
The passengers said— We'll trust our ship,
The stanch old Constitution.

[See President Buchanan's late Proclamation.]

Four million slaves to be set free, Before we dare to think of rest,

Before our Union can be blest?

ou'll learn how slaves and free

Sherborn, Dec. 19, 1860.

dent for a day of Fasting and Prayer.

Wolf! wolf!' you cry-look to your slaves-You'll find the Wolf is there!

F. M. ADLINGTON.

E. D. Morse.

For the Liberator. New York Tribune contained an account of the mas-A WARNING. sacre of 200 Indians in California. Of course, rea-Attend, ye Southern mountebanks,
While I your tricks expose:
And think not, by your blust'ring pranks,
To lead us by the nose!
To scare the North and West, you try sons are assigned for such brutality; but we have only one side of the question—the white man's. True, indeed, the Indian race is destined to perish, but not by this atrocious warfare. As Indians, they must To scare the North and West, you try
By threatening to secede:
While you are acting out the lie,
You dare not do the deed!
Your slaves, though all so quiet now,
Their necks your feet beneath,
Would breathe the long heart-cherish'd yow
For 'LINERTY OR DEATH!'
A hundred thousand glittering knives ease to be, and become absorbed into the great mass of human life, which on this continent is blending se many races into one people. He desired that the pro-posed Convention should meet during the session of Congress, and search into the question submitted in the resolutions. When the subject is then fairly be A hundred thousand glittering knives Around your heads would dash, fore the people, the wrongs complained of must cease Let us remember, that in the effort to save inferior races, we shall ourselves be elevated. And you, your children, and your wives, Must meet their lightning flash. Let but your trampled bondmen hear That they may dread no more

The Chairman here introduced Mr. Ralph Wald Emerson to the audience, amidst hearty cheering.

mends that these injured people shall be put under

Mr. Emerson said that he was impressed, as all must be, by the remarks of Mr. Beeson, which deserved an audience as large as the country itself. He had regretted that the meeting had been called now, when political and commercial affairs are in such an agitated state, and it is difficult for people to extend heir sense of duty to distant objects. Yet there is omething imperative in the time,-because the lat of Kansas has to come before Congress, and other questions of Indian reserves, and perhaps some further injustice will be consummated.

It is always time, and never too late, to do right :these are words out of the heart of the world. We are severally parties to wrongs which are coming to a crisis, and it is fit some present effort should be made in expiation. Yet we hardly realize our responsibili ty here. In this portion of the country, the Indian is a picturesque antiquity. We have the waters of Massachusetts Bay, and the State bearing their name. We have recollections of them as a race which preceded ours, and who have covered the country with their beautiful names. But where are the men? We read Cooper's novels, and think of the Indian with an interest belonging to a creature of fiction. But he is himself worthy of the interest he inspires. He is a naturalist by what is called the rule of thumb. He is as wise as a hound. He is not imitable in arts properly his own. 'You cannot lose an Indian' is a proverb. He finds his way by marks which the white man does not make. He can call the moose, and the moose will come. He can call the muskrat while he is swimming, and the animal obeys. He has the greatest self-command, and sense of a wild justice which is true to the laws of his tribe and his religion. Many of the Indians have exhibited extraordinary traits. Red Jacket's speech to the misaionaries who came to convert his tribe deserves the very best consideration of every thoughtful person. It is remarkable for its keen wit and truthful eloquence. The interest in the wild man increases as we ourselves become scientific. His arrow-heads and hatchets are found all over the world; even, it is said, under the glaciers of Switzerland! His very antiquity should give a sacred tenderness to our thoughts of him. But there is come into our country, with its amalgamation of races, a power not civilized

The wrongs of the Indians on our western frontiers are owing to the large share which the State of Missouri has had in settling these regions. The free and hearty settlers from the North, untainted by slavery, could never of themselves have committed such crimes. I hope that, in the time before us, a happier era is to be inaugurated. I entreat you, gentl for the sake of civilization, to have regard to the In-

All union means justice; all injustice means disanion. If only two people understand each other, and mean justice, they will gather strength and pre vail. Injustice is ever the disuniting principle.

The Chairman here introduced Miss Barr, and her sister, who sang from the platform a song called Speed on!' illustrative of a beautiful superstition among the Seneca Indians. At the conclusion of the

Miss Ball briefly addressed the audience on the wrongs of the Indians, and the retribution ever following injustice. Each race of men is a special type of the Divine. In the red man we see a natural simplicity, sagacity, and unconquerable love of freedom. In the African, a race full of music and of social af fection, happy even in bondage. The Anglo-Saxon lives by method, laws, institutions; and force their souls into the forms they have made. This brotherand social institutions of the now dominant race widened to embrace and cherish the others.

At this stage of the proceedings, a collection was taken up to defray the expenses of the hall.

The Chairman read the resolutions again, when, interested in measures for the protection of the Indians, assembled on Friday evening, the 14th inst., on the motion of Mr. Beeson, the time for a Convention to meet was changed to the 20th, 21st and 22d Mr. John Beeson called the meeting to order, and of February, (the latter day being the birth-day of the usual officers were appointed; the chair being Washington.) In their amended forms, the resolutions were then adopted unanimously.

Mr. Beeson expressed his regret at the non-attending in School street, on the 19th ult., and explained ance of the clergy, of whom he had seen twenty-four that the present meeting had been summoned to de- on the subject. Many of these had made him halftermine the mode of calling a General Convention, promises of personal co-operation, but none had come Dr. Gardner spoke with his usual clearness on the

should assemble. He then read the following resolutions, which had been referred from the former meet. subject of justice to the Indian, and followed up Mr. Beeson's comments on clerical lukewarmness with an Whereas, The design of all just governments and earnestness of indignation which aroused the dissent of all true religion is to promote the best interests of of some individuals, and the hearty applause of the all mankind; and for this purpose organizations are rest of the meeting. instituted for the benefit of every class of men, with

On motion, a Committee was appointed to issue call for a Convention, consisting of the officers of the ly left to perish for the want of adequate care; there- meeting and any persons they might select to make the number of five.

The Chair announced Mr. Beeson's desire to go to Resolved, That a General Convention of the friends Washington to advocate in person the Indian claims, of the Indians is hereby invited to assemble in the city of Boston, on the 9th day of January, 1861, and provided he could raise the needful sum for ex-

to continue three days, during which the following Mr. Emerson highly commended Mr. Beeson's book on the late war in Oregon as full of interesting and valuable matter.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and after a little animated discussion, the meeting broke up with a deep sympathy for the cause which it had mains which should be appropriated for their final met to promote.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION. Boston, November 6, 1860.

of Indians to send delegates of their own people to a general convention of their race, at some appropriate To FREDERICK U. TRACT, Treasurer, and the Assessed and other Authorities of the City of Boston :

My tax-bill for the year 1860 is before me. And 6th. The propriety of asking Congress for an apnow, on this national election day, when men are propriation sufficient to carry the foregoing into running to and fro, seeking voters by fair means or foul; when men of all nations-no matter how igno Resolved, That a Committee of Arrangements for rant, or how unfitted by imbecility, intemperance, and poverty for paying their taxes even-are lved, That the entire press of the country be solicited to exercise this high function of citizenship respectfully invited to give these resolutions a place I feel, with new emphasis, the fact that woman alone of all same adults, is denied this right,-although FATHER BEESON, in his usual simple, earnest lancontributing millions for the maintenance of gover guage, enlarged on the wrongs and sufferings of the ment. The payment of a tax to support government Indians, at the hands both of the Government and identifies the payer with that government; recognize the settlers. Treaties are made with the Indians, him as a citizen under it, entitled to its protect but no adequate provision exists for carrying them and responsible for its action. If it is the duty of out. Such treaties are a solemn mockery, violated citizen to pay the tax, it is equally a duty to set in almost at pleasure, and with impunity, by white the selection of those who are to levy it, and decide settlers and others. Yet the press, with few exceptions, is silent: the pulpit is silent:—and thus, unthose laws which he as a citizen is forced to obey.

protected by law, and foredoomed by public opinion A native of Boston, attached to its institutions, to annihilation, the red man suffers the most wanton and willing to brar a share in its just pecuniary burto annihilation, the red man suners the most values and outrages. Look at the mere cost of this barbarous dens,—having no one to represent my views and treatment. In four years, not less than twenty-four wishes at the polls, (as the wife and mother are millions of dollars have been expended in needless claimed to have)—I find myself compelled to pay millions of dollars have been expended in needless claimed to have)—I find myself compelled to pay Indian wars: and now the Secretary of War recom-

martial law;-their great wrongs to be righted by the sands in the hands of women in Boston, is unreprific, the revolver, and the sword! But recently, the resented;-while the ignorant, the irresponsible, and

fairs, because here arise many questions involving he spokengain, spoke with all the power which none enormous expenditure, and many changes of old established ways, as the widening of streets—which tablished ways, as the widening of streets—which conscience of New England condemned—spoke him-were intended for the joint benefit of all classes, and self to death—but the conscience of New England not the especial benefit of corporations, at great injury to the property and comfort of the residents upon the same—and other questions affecting the vital interests of many, and upon which the moral sense which now are managed too much by short-sighted partizans or imprudent speculators, who do not hesiexpenditure of taxes, and at any disadvantage to the tax-payers, who have no special benefit therefrom.

It does not appear that his prodigiously meandering search after his maternal relative [laugh Against this compulsory payment I again protest, hoping that, at no very distant day, our Government will come to recognize in its action its cardinal principle-'The consent of the gorerned.'

This is respectfully submitted. HARRIOT K. HUNT.

32 Green Street.

LETTER FROM MRS. FRANCES D. GAGE. Менрота, (III.,) Dec. 1, 1860. FRIEND GARRISON,-I have just laid down the Liberator of the 16th of November, containing the letter of Parker Pillsbury, bearing date from this proof to the manhood of our country; but he is mistaken in saying that the most lynx-eyed of the Woman Rights Lecturers have failed to note the that the citizens are rapidly moving their families that the citizens are rapidly moving their families. wrong' which he so graphically describes. Some of Plum Island, [laughter] in order to

us have not only noted, but we have been 'chiels among them taking notes, and, faith, have printed them' many a time.

Well might the sights and scenes which every day met his eyes and ears almost make him forget the 'plantations of the South'! The four million slaves of the Southern plantations, whose skins mark their position, are but a fraction of the slaves of these things meet us among. United States; and if these things meet us among reformers, among men professing to believe in human rights, what shall be the condition of wives where men recognize only rights for the 'free white male glowing periods? [Applause.]

And now suppose the meeting which the retriefly gentlemen of this neighborh

Talk about giving such women the right to acquire rous criticism, and would have worked its about and hold property!'
We asked him demurely, who raised all the chil-

saving of the same number of years.'

with all the household cares. Poor slave!

Another one who writes letters for the Liberator, and gives his energies to the defence of the slave, lets his wife get up, and build fires, and get his breakfast, habitually; and appropriates her earnings, without her consent, to his use. She put sixty dollars in the bank, and for a special purpose; and when she called for it, he had taken it out, and spent it; thus betraying her confidence and trust. Yet this man is

last two months, circulating petitions for this object, and we find in the hearts of the people, everywhere, a ready response. Much more so than in New York last winter; and we hope that the time is not far distant when the evils complained of,—which are often more the result of custom than of any positive intention of unkindness,—will not be found marring that direction at all, if only by such extremes the desired result can be obtained? It is humiliating to degrade one's self; but is it not still more humiliating to degrade one's self in vain? last two months, circulating petitions for this object, The slavery of woman is older than chattelism,

sent, and which, therefore, like so many other thou. ELOQUENT VINDICATION OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

The people of this country ought certainly to be resented;—while the ignorant, the irresponsible, and the uninterested are admitted to all the rights and duties of citizenship. Is this just? Is it in accordance with the spirit of the age—with the intelligence and progress of our people?

The election of the proper National, State and City officers is a matter of equal importance to all citizens, and should not, therefore, be delegated to any one a favorite son, whose massive eloquence had more and should not, therefore, be delegated to any one sex or class. Especially is this felt in the choice of city officials and the administration of municipal atfairs, because here arise many questions involving

and rights of all concerned should be consulted, but ing strength of their cause? There is, and perhaps there never was a man in this country, who has ad-dressed as great a number of his countrymen as Mr. partizans or imprudent speculators, who do not hesi-tate to increase the city debt for any purposes of dis-play or luxury, outside of the legal provisions for the rance, used the watchwords of liberty in the advocacy ter and applause] made many converts for his cause. Malicious people even go so far as to pretend that he would have received more votes, if fewer people had

heard his eloquent voice.

But examples still more striking are crowding upon my memory. It is said that the eloquent Caleb Cushing is laboriously engaged in the delivery of a speech, which he commenced at a time out of men's memory, and which he means to continue to a time out of men's description. out of men's endurance; [continue to a time out of men's endurance; [continued laughter] a speech in which he has proved, is proving, and will still further prove, that the people of the North have speedily to abandon the principles contained in the Republic will sink to the bottom of the unfathomable letter of Parker Pillsbury, bearing date from this ocean, never to rise again. And yet I am informed place. We thank him for those frank words of rethe moral convictious of the people are successfully enduring the most unearthly of trials. The New us have not only noted, but we have been 'chiels tion; thus, rather abandoning their old and dear

United States; and if these things meet us among proof against the seductive power of eloquence?

That they are moved by ideas, and not by the verbiverns them, and not the charm of

men recognize only rights for the 'free white male citizen'? Can we expect any earnest anti-slavery effort while nearly every man in the country over twenty-five years of age owns one pair of hands, for whose labor of a life-time he is only obliged to give 'necessary support'? Will he have any realizing sense of the degradation of caste, so long as he she idea of equal rights for the sexes? spurns the idea of equal rights for the sexes?

We heard an anti-slavery man of the strongest so warm and touching, do you think a single individual within the reach of its influence would have dependence of Illinois women—indeed, of all women promptly resolved to shoulder his musket, to mareh there was not one in fifty that was the least help into the South, and to undertake this terrible busito a man in getting a living, and nine-tenths of them could not even do their own work without hired help.

Tell about siving and women the right to scource

You may remind me of John Brown. Ah, it was dren of Illinois—who cooked all the food—who not in consequence of rights and liberties safely entended all the household operations—who made the clothes for the family—who nursed the sick—who set the tables, swept the house, and washed the garthe tables, swept the house, and washed the garments?

'What does that all amount to?' was his scornful ree and serene atmosphere of public discussion, our
in the dark secresy of a despairing heart that he conceived his terrible design. [Sensation.]

Nor do I think that those who disturbed the meet-

What does that all amount to? was his scornful answer.

Nor do I think that those who disturbed the meeting of Abolitionists had any such fears. They deemed it necessary to satisfy the Southern customers of their loyalty, so that trade might not suffer. They had to demonstrate that State Street is not disposed to invade Virginia or South Carolina, all of which was very right and proper. Everybody has a right to pass, and if they can persuade the South that Boston is not altogether an anti-slavery city, let them do so. let them do so.

saving of the same number of years.'

"I tell you,' he replied, "it would be mighty little she would have left, if she would pay me for furnishing soap and water, tubs, fire-wood, board and house speech threatened to accomplish? Why not call a the conservative masses, in Fancuil Hall? Have the conservative masses, in Fancuil Hall? Have they no orators on their side, whose voices will reach farther than that of Fred. Douglass, and drown that of Wendell Phillips? [Voice in the audience, 'No.'] Mr. Everett is certainly longing for an opportunity to make a side, a tremendous outpouring of the conservative masses, in Fancuil Hall? Have they no orators on that of Fred. Douglass, and drown that of Wendell Phillips? [Voice in the audience, 'No.'] Mr. Everett is certainly longing for an opportunity to make a side, a tremendous outpouring of the conservative masses, in Fancuil Hall? Have they no orators on the side, whose voices will reach farther than that of Fred. Douglass, and drown that of Wendell Phillips? [Voice in the audience, 'No.'] Mr. Everett is certainly longing for an opportunity to make a side, whose voices will reach farther than that of Fred. Douglass, and drown that of Wendell Phillips? eeting on their side, a tremendous or We met another of these reformers, who, in the presence of a large company, scolded a young wife not twenty-one, who was the mother of two children, and about to become the mother of the third, till she and about to become the mother of the third, till she will describe the horrors of the slave insurrection. He will describe the horrors of the slave insurrection. wept like a child in her agony; simply because some in St. Domingo, to draw tears from your eyes. He trifling matter of mere convenience to him had not been attended to in an absence of weeks, leaving her one; he will invoke the spirits of Washington, Jef-Another one who writes letters for the Liberator, and Madison, generously forgetting that these three great Virginians were anti-slavery men, and if he should not succeed in demonstration.

betraying her confidence and trust. Yet this man is called a strictly honest man—high-minded, genial and hospitable. 'Such a good man!' the neighbors say.

Mr. Pillsbury's account of the woman who got supper for ten, reminds me of a like circumstance. I had lectured three evenings in a neighborhood, and the mother of sayes children conservative between the mother of sayes children conservative between the mother of sayes children conservative true, and listened to the speeches. The speeches were good. Ex-Governor Lincoln spoke, Mr. Lincoln's speech was replete with patriotism, rather liberal; had lectured three evenings in a neighborhood, and speech was replete with patriotism, rather liberal; the mother of seven children—one at the breast—was Mr. Everett's with patriotism, rather whining; Mr. Cushing's with patriotism, very vindictive. He inthe mother of seven children—one at the breast—was my landlady. The last evening I urged her to go, and the husband offered to stay with the baby. Talking it over, she let fall the remark—'I never get out any where.'

'Yes you do!' shricked out a bright little girl; 'you've, been out twice since I can remember: once down to grandad's, and once over to aunt Hannah's.'

This husband was an carnest Woman's Rights man, and a Garrisonian—by profession. He might have emancipated one slave, surely, if he had been desirous of so doing!

But we hope for better things, and an effort is now making in our State of Illinois to secure to married women the right to acquire and hold property in their own name, and the right to alien and devise the same, and to protect their own persons and reputation by law—asking also joint right in the guardianship of children for the mother.

Mr. Thacy Cutler and myself have been, for the last two months, circulating petitions for this object,

loyalty worth a gracious acknowledgment.
sation.] But nothing short of that will answer ing to degrade one's self in vain?
When I look upon this spectar ctacle, there

and I much fear it will take longer to file off her thought which impresses itself irresistibly upon my mind. This nation has undertaken to be the great quiding star of weaking and order to be the chains—from the simple fact, that the husband, professing deep love, considers himself and wife a unit; and she being a part of himself, he has a right to abuse himself as much as he pleases, through her.

On the other hand, we do know women who do not act well their part. We pray that both may do better in the time to come. If we have spoken especially of anti-slavery men and reformers, it is because we feel that they should stand pre-eminent above all others in their works of kindness and love; and, beginning their labors at home, let them go from thence outward to the ends of the earth, wherever there may be a human soul wearing the fetters of a lave.

P. D. GAGE.

And now there are millions of men living in old world, watching the development of this this Republic with anxious solicitude, foully for the final solution of the great problem, ap ing with exultant joy every success we ach ploring with heartfelt grief every reverse for our victories as well as our defer also—and whenever I hear, in this Re dividual rights invaded, of liberties th of the great agencies of progress disturbe help asking myself: What will they this help asking in year! If not will they think? will they think, who expect to hear from our the divine message that man is capable of go himself, and, being free, capable of respective freedom of others? To them, another spark is extinguished, another ray of hope obser bond of sympathy severed.

Indeed, those whose eyes were hopefully fired on this land, have already had to reconcile the to many a contradiction. Slavery existing tion of this Republic of equal rights, ar despotism that grows out of slavery.
slavery does not exist, there, at least, the would Liberty throw her shield over er right of man. And now they have to even here the freedom of speech mean man has a right to say what is not [Applause.] They will reme there never was a despot on earth who refuse tolerate opinions which exactly agreed with his What will they think? I must be pardoned, if, in my public address have not always been able to refrain from expression

of scorn and contempt; from applying the lan invective and bitter denunciation to those who dured the fair image of liberty, which this Expholds out to the world, and drove into the millions of liberty-loving men in the abroad, who, with all the tendrils of their clung to this last hope! I feel every pang of dipointment that distresses them, whrating in heart, and so I ask, again and again: What they think? It is true, the time is out of including interests. clashing interests and ideas are standing up again each other in formidable array; the minds of n are disturbed here by the pe fear, there by the madness of a stubbo tion, and every day an untoward event may how tion, and every day an unisoward event may rose the elementary forces of society to desperate ca-flicts. The passions of the multitude may be force than in ordinary times, bewildered by the perfect than in ordinary times, best our nath. And believe ties which seem to beset our path. I do not belong to those who think lightly of t dangers threatening the Republic. I have many of us, watched the development of or with profound anxiety, weighing the stake white the universal cause of human liberty and civilian tion has in the momentous struggle, and seeking with a scrutinizing eye, for a gleam of light in the confusion. Terrorism rules the hour in one the country; the light of reason seems to tinguished by headlong passion, and the roise counsel drowned by the clamor of infatuated a In our midst peace is still reigning, not under but not forever broken. Shall we follow their e ample? Is it better that here, also, the turbulen passions of the multitude should supplant a fee and quiet exchange of opinions? If there is a light that may guide us in the storm, it is protection of liberty extended to all, the rights of the individual mutually respected, and the freedom of opinion held inviolable. (Applause.) Then the freedom of thought and the freedom of utterance may impe from this crisis as it has done a tho not only as the great agency of progress, but as firmest bulwark of peace and order, as the grai moderator of strife, as the great safety social machinery .- [Extract from Carl Schurz's law ture at the Tremont Temple, Boston.

From the New York Times. A CANDID VIEW OF SECESSION. Extract of a private letter from a lady in South

K _____, S. C., Saturday, Dec. 1, 1860. MY DEAR UNCLE,-It is with different feeling that I sit myself to pen these lines to you, from those which actuated me when I wrote you last Then, all looked bright and cheerily in the futurenow, how gloomy and portentous! Still I ferrent pray God that this cup may pass away from u country here is all aglow with the fires of the revolution, and such is the intensity of excit that we can scarcely find time or inclination to to or think of anything else than the political to of the day, and the moral and social conseq directly pertaining to secession. I fear that sees sion and revolution are, with our people, forego conclusions; that we have gone so far, retraction and recession are impossible, and that civil we with all its consequent horrors, is already upon us shudder for the wives and mothers, sist babes of South Carolina, as I contemplate the in mediate future of the State. You need not be su prised at any time to see me and the children your midst, for no argument could induce me remain here an hour longer than I should be com pelled to, if the worst sho

You may imagine, dear uncle, our situation, you never can realize it in its fullness. Aired we tremble in our own homes, in antic expectancy of what is liable to burst for moment, a negro insurrection. Could you see the care and precaution displayed here by the proprie tors of the negroes, - not only planters, but -you would not for a moment envy us our po Not a night passes that we do not curely lock our field servants in their quarters our most loved and valued house servi ordinary times we would trust to watched and guarded against with all th and care that we possess. Our planters and owner of slave property do not allow their servants to have any intercourse with each other, and the se groes are confined strictly to the premises when they belong. We are all obliged to increase our force of overseers, to prevent too free inter even among our own servants. The negroes fed and notice these new restraints, and naturally sit, Why is this? But it is unnecessary for them to ask the question, for they all comprehend the cas well as we who own them. They have already learned enough to give them an idea of what is going on in the State and nation, and this knowledge they have not gained from Abolitionists, some suppose, but from the conversation of their owners indirectly held in their presence. They have already heard of Lincoln's election, and have heard also that he is for giving them their liberty, and you may imagine the result.

You have heard that our servants all love their masters, and their masters' families, and would is down their lives for them-that the colored race the South prefers slavery to freedom—that the would not be free if they could, &c. That is but the poetry of the case; the reality consists in slerping and the case; the reality consists in slerping and the case; the same consists in slerping and the case; the reality consists in slerping and the case; the case is the case in the case; the case is the case is the case in the case is upon our arms at night-in double-bolting and barring our doors—in establishing and maintaining an efficient patrol force—in buying watch-dogs, and in taking turns in watching our sleeping children to guard them and ourselves from the vengeance of though now smouldering, is liable to burst out any moment, to overwhelm the State in spite of the Palmetto flags or State precautions.

You at the North are not the only ones who are

suffering financially by this new panie. The platters among us are really suffering from the depreciation in their property. Already, negroes are not worth half prine. worth half price. No one dares to buy a serrall, fearing lest he, in doing so, should be introducing upon his plantation one tinctured with the idea of freedom. My husband has but a few servants-I believe

but thirty-one all told—still I feel (and so does be) that they are thirty-one too many in such times at that they are thirty-one too many in such times as these. He would sell them immediately, if it were possible, but the truth is he could realize noting, for them at present, or at most not over half their real value. Slaves are a drug in the market, my husband says, and you know him well enough to judge of his judgment in such matters.

Now, one word as to the military force of the State, to protect us against an insurrection. I just

State, to protect us against an insurrection. I presume, with the exception of Charleston, and presume, with the exception of the charleston, and presume a new large towns, that the remainder of the haps a new large towns, that the remainder of the haps a few large towns, that the remainder of 169
State is bituated very much as we are here; and it will give you an idea how well prepared we are to resist a mob. On our place of about 1200 acrs, we have:—Of whites, males—husband, two ores, seers, and my son of 18 years—total, four; femils—self and cousin, little Lucy, and one of the own.

seer's wife—four: of whom only four at the most e —self and cousin, little Lucy, and one of the order seer's wife—four; of whom only four at the most are capable of bearing arms. To offset which, and have at least seventeen field hands, stardy young negroes, besides the female servants. And this is fair representation of the force upon our plant tions. Considering such a state of facts, do you blame me for desiring to absent myself, my husband and children from the State? 221 WAS ROBER TER out, in adv F All r elating to t

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